HINDU NATIONALISM IN INDIA

3

IDEOLOGICAL COROLLARIES

D.D. PATTANAIK

Foreword by
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Dedicated to:
Professor Rajendra Singh—Mananiya Rajju Bhaiya—
Sarsanghchalak
Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

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FOREWORD

Perhaps it is never too late to learn from the mistakes of the past and begin afresh. I think it would now be appropriate, after 50 years of Independence, in the midst of turmoil, to assess where we have gone wrong. For, it is obvious to everyone that the country is in a total mess and a decline in all walks of life has set in. No doubt, it is difficult to identify a single cause for the decline on all fronts—social, economic, educational, political, moral and intellectual—one cannot avoid generalization or the necessity of a paradigm-shift after investigating the complex phenomena of degeneration. Even at the risk of contradiction, I daresay that misconcepts about India's reality have caused the greatest havoc to the understanding of our people, their psyche, ethos and aspirations, the way of life and the accepted value-system.

If India has to emerge as a great country in the foreseeable future, for which, unfortunately, there are very few indicators, the first task, to may mind, is to check, what can be called, *mantra-viplav*, i.e., the word-explosion. Our whole political vocabulary has to be reshaped, revised and reconcepted. Roughly, for over a century, unending storming of wrongly motivated phraseology, emanating from western and communist sources, has gone unchallenged. This kind of language has warped the intellect and has landed us in our present plight. Our sights are not clear, our visions are blurred and like half-blind we are groping in infra-regions of illusions, deceptions and rigmarole.

"O India! O perfect Nation!
O India that shall be!
How long till thou take station?"

—Annie Besant

We have drifted from our moorings and have been chasing false ideals. We have chosen to follow the communist or the western liberal paradigms to the complete neglect of our own. The adoption of western model of nationalism and the communist model of multi-nationalism is one supreme example of our misdirection of goals. Nationalism, born of European experiences, and multi-nationalism, the creed of the Soviet Union—both have shown disastrous results respectively in terms of world wars, on the one hand, and the breakup of the Soviet Union, on the other. Nationalism precisely meant freedom from colonialism, self-determination and a unity of some common material interests. At best, it meant a self-governing community for agreed common goals.

Inspired by the liberal ideology of the west and reinforced by the American love for freedom, we, too, during our fight for Independence initated the same pattern of thinking and action thereafter. For fifty odd years we did nothing by way of introspection to take the right path or formulate positive goals for charting a course destined for us. Lamentably, patriotism remained a forgotton creed and western nationalism became our true political religion.

Nationalism, brought in its train, problems of diversities, disintegration, separatism, secessionism and terrorism. Nationalism implied a process of appeasement of minorities and brought to fore the concepts of composite culture and multiplicity of religions and minorities. It tended to infuse a sinister self-conscious identity in smaller groups and diffused the prime loyalty to the country as a whole. Instead of emphasising the unifying forces and strengthening them, the ideology of multi-nationalism encouraged attacks on the very cultural mainstream. Pseudo-secularism, thus, is the inevitable product of the foreign concept of nationalism that we wove into our constitutional fabric.

One of the most serious fallouts of our acute dependence on foreign terminology was the confusion of our traditional concept of *Rashtra* with the word *Nation* of foreign origin. *Rashtra*, misconstrued as Nation, like *Dharma* translated as Religion, created a whole lot of semantic misunderstandings, deviating and alienating us from the reality of our original thought processes. The Hindu version of *Rashtra* is not the same thing as the Nation. These two words carry different nuances, spirit, connotation and implications. The two words cannot be used interchangeably nor are they synonymous. The overlapping of these two words has done enormous damage to conceptual clarity.

The distinction between Nation and *Rashtra* is lost to our view. This has caused the term *Rashtra-bhakti* to erroneously mean loyalty to the nation rather than patriotism. The sense conveyed by the phrase *Desh-bhakti* is swept aside. Patriotism, in my view, evokes a very different sentiment than nationalism. The pure love for the country, as a whole, is the feeling behind the word *Rashtra*. The love for the country and its cultural unity is not the same thing as striving for nationhood, self-determination, sovereignty or structuring of a composite culture.

Aurobindo explains:

> "But what is a nation? The *Shakti* of its Millions. What is a nation? What is our mother country? It is not a piece of earth, nor a figure of speech, nor a fiction of the mind. It is a mighty *Shakti*. . . . Come then, hearken to the call of the Mother. She is already in our hearts waiting to manifest herself, waiting to be worshipped."

"India is the *Bharat Shakti*—the living energy of a great spiritual conception, and fidelity to it is the very principle of her existence."

Mother I bow to thee!
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waring, Mother of might,
Mother free. . . . !

"I am not feeling this only today that nationalism is a faith. It is a *Dharma*. I mean to say that *Sanatan Dharma* is itself nationalism for us. Hindu *Rashtra* was born with *Sanatan Dharma* and prospers with *Dharma*. Whenever *Sanatan Dharma* degenerates, nation also suffers. *Sanatan Dharma* is identical with nationalism."

—*Aurobindo*

From Kabul-Kandhar (Afghanistan), to Brahmdesh (Myanmar), Siam (Thailand) and Shailendra Dweep Samooh (Indonesia): from Kashmir to Kanyakumari: from Himalayas, Kailash, Mansarovar, Karakoram, Hindukush: from Sindhu Sagar (Arabian Sea), Ganga Sagar (Bay of Bengal), Hind Mahasagar (Indian Ocean), and Singhal Dweep (Sri Lanka), from Brahmputra to Sindhu, Panchnad, Ganga, Yamuna, Mahanadi, Kaveri, Saraswati, Narmada, Godavari, Krishna, Reva and Gandaki—this is eternal, *Sanatana-Dharmabhumi, Matrabhumi, Pitrabhumi, Punyabhumi, Tapobhumi* and *Karmabhumi* of the *Rishis* of yore, inherited by the Hindus; known in legends and scriptures as *Bharat-Khand, Bharat-Varsh* or *Jamboo Dweep.*

देवि भुवनमोहिनी नीलसिन्धु जलधौत चरणवत
पृथिव्या समुद्रपर्यताया एकराट्
उत्तर यर्त्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।
वर्ष तद् भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संतति ।।
हिमवत्समुद्रान्तर मुदीचीनं योजनसहस्त्र परिमाणम् ।
समुद्र इव गांभीयें धैर्येण हिमवान् इव ।

—*Rabindra Nath Tagore*

The inspirational literature comprises, mainly: The *Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, Epics, Digh-Nikaya, Dharamsastra, Arthsastra, Thiru-Kural, Guru-granth Sahab*, and *Jain Scriptures*.

The holy centres of this geo-cultural entity are: Ayodhya, Mathura, Kashi, Haridwar, Kanchi, Avantika, Vaishali, Dwarika, Puri, Takshila, Gaya, Prayag, Patliputra, Vijaynagar, Indraprastha, Somnath, Amritsar, Badrinath, Kedarnath, Amarnath.

Hindu nationalism is pure patriotism. It is *Rastratva*: selfless love for the divine land, rivers, hills, forests, animals, humans at different levels of consciousness—from material to spiritual. It is spiritual-cultural-integral nationalism.

The name of the nation, Bharat, originates from king Bharat who was noble, virtuous, victorious king and shining model of Hindu manhood. When a woman has more than one child, we call her by the name of her eldest or most well known among her children. Bharat was well known and this land was called as mother. Bharat—the mother of all Hindus. Golwalkar contended that India was one nation, one people, one culture, since earliest time in human annals. He used to quote the trumpet cry of the *Vedas*—

> पुण्याहवाचन अथर्ववेद
> भ्रदं इच्छान्त ऋषयः स्वर्विदः
> तपो दीक्षां उपसेदुः अग्रे ।
> ततो राष्ट्रं बलं ओजञ्च जातम् ।
> तदस्मै देवा उपसं नमन्तु ।।
> (अथर्व-19/41/1)

"Overall the land up to the oceans, one nation
Long ago our forefathers sang:
The land to the north of the oceans and south of

> the Himalayas is called *Bharatavarsha*, and *Bharatis* are her children.
>
> —*M.S. Golwalkar*

"Chanakya, who has been held an authority on political science, has stated:

To the north of the oceans upto the Himalayas, the country is thousand yojanas in length."

Dattopant Thengde in राष्ट्र

As the most ancient people on earth, we have been more preoccupied with our commitments to the advancement and strengthening of our cherished values, codes of ethical beliefs and modes of search for truth. In other words, we have evolved a distinct way of life and a distinct identity. We have our own perceptions of destiny and role *vis-a-vis* mankind, and indeed, the whole universe. We have a philosophy and a synthetic worldview. We have sought and found answers to a whole lot of questions about life and existence. We have discovered God from an open mind and pursued the search for God without being fanatic or fundamentalist. We have a unique character and genius and an enlarged vision of *Sarvadharma-samabhava*. To preserve and strengthen these values and life-guidelines is patriotism, a duty that devolves on us as Hindus.

वन्देमातरम्, सुजलाम्, सुफलाम्,
मलयज शीतलाम् सस्यशामलाम्, मातरम् ।
शुभ्र ज्योत्स्ना, पुलकित यामिनीम्,
फुल्कुसुमित, द्रुमदल शोभिनीम् सुहासिनीय सुमधुर भाषिणीम्,
सुखदाम्, वरदाम्, मात्तरम्, वन्देमातरम् ।

—*Bankim Chandra Chatterjee*

The Hindu catholicity of outlook and the accompanying tolerance has been a great asset, but now-a-days it is also showing the need for revision, especially in the face of hostile and pseudo-secularist forces who try to exploit this virtue as a weakness. The Hindus have been glorious people but they have fallen on evil days. Inculcation of patriotic spirit among the Hindus is a *sine qua non* for turning other converts from Hinduism to return into the Hindu fold. During the course of history, Hinduism—a great civilisation—has been polluted by alien influences. It is a curious phenomenon that Hinduism which had a tremendous capacity to assimilate alien cultures or sub-cultures has failed to do so in the case of Muslims, although they too are originally Hindus.

ज्योस्तुते श्रीमहन्मंगले शिवास्पदे शुभदे ।
स्वतंत्रते भगवति त्वामहम् यशोयुतां वन्दे ।।

हे भगवति स्वंतत्रतादेवि, तेरी जय हो,
हे महान मंगलमयि, कल्याणमयि, शुभंकारी,
देवि, तेरी यशारचिता को मैं वन्दन करता हूँ ।
तुम सूर्य का तेज हो, तुम सागर जैसी गम्भीर हो ।
तुम्हें मैं वन्दन करता हूँ ।।

—*V.D. Savarkar*

A country, which has the immense potential to lead the entire humanity, is suffering under its own heels. A helplessness seems to have overtaken our society to face the challenges of religious fanaticism, secessionism, terrorism, communalism, and separatism. Economically, the country has been reduced to the status of a beggar surviving on the mercy of international finance. Patriotism alone is the anodyne for the serious maladies, for it demands a complete loyalty to the country and expects supreme sacrifice for the cause. Adherence to the interest of the country and the readiness to face all the challenges and crises is a part of the virtue of patriotism.

The Hindus have, over the ages, transmitted patriotism from generation to generation, imbibing in the masses an unflinching devotion to the country as a whole. The word *Rashtra* signifies the country and all that it represents as a heritage, culture, tradition. *Desh-bhakti* is a call to the people to be prepared to give up every comfort when faced with inimical forces both inside and outside the country. *Rashtra* is not a mere geo-political concept, it is a category of thought which mystically keeps a patriot in a frame of mind to transcend all material and immediate interests and protect the motherland from all odds, calamities, aggressions and evils.

According to Dr. Bali Ram Hedgewar, patriotism is a cultural urge manifest in all beings in this country to treat everything the motherland has given to them as a blessing and a boon. It is an outer expression of *sanskara*—a subconscious feeling in every heart of a Hindu whose heart bleeds when the country suffers. The Hindu is one who would consider no price big enough for saving the country from disintegration and sabotage. For, in the protection of the country, he is seeking the protection of all that he has cherished and is indispensable to him as a responsible citizen. Patriotism, in this context, is a civilisational concern for the Hindu who is ever prepared to arm himself for fighting against all anti-patriotic forces, the way Ram waged a war against Ravan.

In this sense, patriotism invokes a greater emotional attachment to the motherland than nationalism can ever do. The mother and the motherland are both higher than heavens. Patriotism, unlike nationalism, involves a total dedication to the *Desh* or *Rashtra*.

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च ।
स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी ।।

—Valmiki *Ramayana*

A patriot is spirited in love for anything that the *Rashtra* bestows on him by its benign benevolence and grace. It makes all the difference when this attachment is accompanied by reverence to values of universalism, humanity and humanness. The *Rashtra* acquires for him sublime heights in terms of his willingness to accept loyalty, not governed by narrow economic benefits, political privileges, and security. His perfect atunement with the elevated consciousness, where a sense of belonging embraces the land, the geography, the mountains, the rivers, the art, the oceans, the flora and fauna, legends and scriptures, and above all, the wonderful people.

मन समर्पित, तन समर्पित और यह जीवन समर्पित
चाहता हूँ मातृ-भू ! तुझको अभी कुछ और भी दूँ ।।

—R.S.S. Song

The persistent and notorious tirade launched by pseudo-secularist elements to denounce patriotism as revivalist, communal and obscurantist needs to be strongly countered by propagating positive concepts of the Hindu classical tradition in order to invoke a sense of pride in the glory of our ancient civilisation. Propagation of patriotism all over the country would reflect the people's desire and resolve to build up the most modern and scientific edifice on the *Shastra* foundation. Tradition and modernity are now to be blended in a unique fashion, not attempted so far. The age-old lesson of keeping the country from Kanyakumari to Kashmir united has to be drilled into ears of the masses who are otherwise sought to be deflected from their righteous party by ill-motivated politicians and a bunch of misguided scholars who have, without a feeling of shame, distorted all that is noble in our culture.

जननी जगन्मात की, प्रखर मातृभक्ति की,
सुप्त भावना जगाने हम चले ।।
सदैव से महान जो सदैव ही महान हो,
कोटि-कोटि कंठ से अखण्ड वंद्य गान हो,
मातृ-भू की अमरता समृद्धि औ अखण्डता की
शुभ्र कामना जगाने हम चले
जननी जगन्मात की . . .।। १।।

—R.S.S. Song

The crusade for people's regeneration, for which the soil is well prepared, should inject an emotional nimbus for the consolidation of constructive forces who want the country to be taken to the pinnacle of glory.

नमस्ते सदा वत्सले मातृभूमे
त्वया हिन्दुभूमे सुख बर्धितोऽहम् ।
महामङ्‌गले पुण्यभूमे त्वदर्थे
पतत्वेष कायो नमस्ते नमस्ते ।। १ ।।
प्रभो शक्तिमन् हिन्दुराष्ट्राङ्‌गभूता
इसे सादरं त्वां नमामो वयम्
त्वदीयाय कार्याय बद्धा कटीयम्
शुभामाशिषं देहि तत्पूर्तये ।
अजय्यां च विश्वस्य देहीश शक्तिम्
सुशीलं जगद् येन नम्रं भवेत्
श्रुतं चैव यत् कण्टकाकीर्णमार्गम्
स्वयं स्वीकृतं नः सुगङ्‌कारयेत् ।। २ ।।
समुत्कर्ष निः श्रेयसस्यैकमुग्रम्
परम् साधनं नाम वीरव्रतम्
तदन्तः स्फुरत्वक्षया ध्येयनिष्ठा
हृदन्तः प्रजागर्तु तीव्राऽनिशम् ।
विजेत्री च नः संहता कार्यशक्तिर्
विधायास्य धर्मस्य संरक्षणम्
परं वैभवं नेतुमेतत् स्वराष्ट्रम्
समर्था भवत्वाशिषा ते भृशम् ।। ३ ।।

—*R.S.S. Prayer*

That is, the love of the country *per se* is like the love of the mother and is heavenly! This love is selfless and involves a steadfast commitment to service and sacrifice. The preparation of every son of this land to sacrifice his life represents the conventional wisdom distilled out of both the *Dharmashastra* and the *Arthashastra* schools.

Therefore, we have not only to unlearn the false lessons of the recent past *via* nationalism imposed on us by alien ideologies, we have to relearn our forgotton lessons drawn from our own rich scriptural sources. The concepts of *Rashtra-bhakti* and *Desh-seva* have to be rendered in a new idiom and vocabulary. The whole language of politics which abuses *Bharat* as India is to be changed, and the shackles of intellectual slavery removed.

All the patriotic forces have to be mobilised for launching a massive public education crusade spirited in *Vande Mataram*. With a missionary zeal we have to disabuse the minds of the younger generations of the distortions perpetrated by misguided leaders and intellectuals of the Left variety.

Let us chant 'Vandemataram'
Let us pray to Mother India.

We are not for caste or creed;
be they Brahmins or not,
they are great, because they are sons of this blessed soil.

Let us chant 'Vandemataram'.
Let us pray to Mother India.

—*Subramanian Bharati*

The people are to be brought back, after centuries of serfdom, into the mainstream of the vibrant, rich intellectual culture bequeathed to us by our ancestors. The task is to resurrect *Bharat* from India, *Dharma* from Religion and *Dharam Sapekshawad* from Secularism. It is also to work out the principles of *Vasudheva Kutumbakam* and *Sarva Dharma Samabhava* in a world still not properly enlightened to grasp these truths. Above all, *Rashtratwa* has to be rescued from the clutches of West-oriented Nationalism. This, indeed, is the new paradigm of thinking meant to demobilise the cancerous elements eating into the vitals of our rich heritage and enlightened intellectual culture inspired by spiritual experiences of the saints and sages of yore.

The indegeneous perspective gets strengthened in Dr. D.D. Pattanaik's four-volume work on *Hindu Nationalism in India.* He has studiously traced all the basic sources to build up an original thesis based on authentic evidence. In the present stage of our knowledge when unpardonable distortions prevail in Indian historiography, Dr. Pattanaik's volumes blaze a new trail in restoring to the concept of nationalism its pristine glory. Several intellectual cobwebs in our understanding of India's culture, which is predominantly Hindu, get sweeped away. Dispassionate scholars would welcome this production. This work will set a pace for positive and creative thinking on the indological phenomenon so widely and deeply probed.

Delhi

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PREFACE

India, the most ancient land of the world, endowed with rich culture, art, literature and philosophy, has been continuing with all her vital impulse. Her inherent potentiality lies with sublime heritage and veritable tradition. In this long span of her chequered history she has presented a definite way of life, and that lies with Hinduness. The Hindus thus constitute the substratum of India's national life. But unfortunately she has been subjected to a great deal of misrepresentation and apprehension. For instance, 'Dharma' has been equated with religious denomination. Every nation has its own language to express her heart and soul, and consequently every term and concept cannot be exactly translated into other languages conveying the same meaning. This kind of attempt seriously jeopardized and confused the national life in the Indian context.

It is not only the linguistic jugglery that brought Hindu way of life, Hindu nationalism and all that to utter misgiving, but certain phenomena, occurrences, deliberate distortions without and inertia within, led to ensure abberation in the annals of history. Ironically, though this is the ancient land with profound richness and genius, the country was exposed to repeated pillage paving the way for imposed rule and rape of indigenous life[1] for more than thousand years. While it may be interpreted as catholicity of Indian life-style, it also exhibits the feebleness of the native people so much so that it led them to decay and decadence in times to come. Compounded together, they lacked introspection, confidence, self-dignity, self-pride, and became oblivious of their past. The overall picture by early nineteenth century was that what was called India had crumbled down abysmally—people becoming sluggish emaciated with dogmatic rituals, prejudices and social ignominies. It is at this juncture that India threw up a series of great savants ensuing motion of history swerving on the right track.

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[1] Proclamation of Mahammed Bin Quasim, Mahammed of Ghazni and others following invasion of India. (Ambedkar, B.R., quotes Dr. Titus, Medieval India, pp. 10-26, in Pakistan, or Partitioning of India, pp. 35-47).

The attempt here is to define nationalism, probe its origin, and arrive at the conclusion of Hindu foundation of Indian nationalism, which is distinguished from theocracy and free from any narrow shackle of regimentation as demonstrated by the great thinkers and activists since nineteenth century in a sincere bid to harmonise and rationalise them in a proper perspective. There is a lack of a crystallised work on the concept and trend of Hindu nationalism with reference to modern India. Though work on Indian thinkers and varied schools of thought is made available in library-shelves, it has been a matter of great intellectual stir to discern the entire panorama of Hindu nationalistic ideas, movements and successive developments in a consolidated spectrum. I hope this is accomplished in the present work.

This is not a work on history as such, though historical references beset it. The present work is primarily historical, and hence empirical. It is also comparative and philosophical whenever the context demands. Since it is not a purely historical work, it is very often not chronological. Certain points have often been repeated in certain phases to make the given point relevant. Precisely, this is a macro study synthesising political history, political thought, dynamics of political theory and contemporary politics.

Though basically there are two dimensions of the present work, viz., the concept, and the trend of Hindu nationalism, there is no strict cleavage between the two while presenting. They are inextricably related, and therefore, arranged in a pattern scattered over four volumes.

Volume 1 deals with the critical theoretical and ideological aspects of nationalism, both from western and Hindu nationalist standpoints—with adequate explanation of expression 'Hindu' and whatever it implies. It is accompanied with the vexed problem of secularism and national integration. Volume 2 deals with the trend of Hindu nationalism in modern India. It must be clarified that when the term trend is used it comprises the entire wavelength of the ideas expressed and movements launched right from the last quarter of nineteenth century to the present day. In other words, it tends to establish continuity in the whole epoch. It also reflects the conceptual dimension. Volume 3 explains the ideal and characteristics of Hindu nationalism deducible from its own genesis. It has been divided into two Parts. The first attempts to clarify the aspersions cast by the critics, which erases various misreadings pertaining to it. The second is a humble bid to explore their distinct perception and emphasis on diverse issues and ideals entailing their cause. Hence, the first Part has been termed as the Negative aspects while the second Part as the Positive aspects. Volume 4 comprises the ideas of the thinkers of non-formal school—which means, those not technically clubbed with the Hindu nationalists, but whose ideas send feelers on Hindu foundation of India. They are obviously the stalwarts of freedom struggle.

I avail this opportunity to express deep gratitude to Prof. Balraj Madhok, Sri. K.S. Sudarshan, Sri K.R. Malkani, Prof. Devendra Swaroop, Thakur Ram Singh and Prof. M.M. Sankhdher—all outstanding luminaries in the given field, for their encouragement to crop up this work. I am also indebted to Indian Council of Social

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Sambalpur D.D. PATTANAIK

1

DISTORTIONS

No geo-cultural and political ideology in recent period has been subject to so scathing criticism as nationalism in general and Hindu nationalism in particular. Notwithstanding the explanations put forward in the previous two Volumes lengthy acrobatic is desired to be formulated on the face of crude apprehensions.

Hans Kohn understands that nationalism is a divisive force in a world growing more and more interdependent, a force capable of producing bitter tension and one-sided self-righteous judgment, that threatens the national solution of international conflicts.[1] Another dubbed it as chauvinist, aggressive and militant.[2] Scholars holding this kind of perception ascribe the two great wars to nationalism, which, to them, is apparently narrow and regimented.

George Hayes, another prominent authority maintains that "nationalists and fascists (both interchangeable to him) . . . believed in annexation and Machtpolitik."[3] "Nationalism seems to have emerged out of Versailles debacle—the term is used as merely expression of vigorousness on the part of the leadership."

"Nationalism made an unequalled contribution to the popularity of Nazism and its political success."[4] The rise of fascism may be seen as an offshoot of nationalism."[5] Jawaharlal Nehru, therefore, quipped, "patriotism is no longer enough, we want something higher and nobler."[6] Prof. Renier comments, "Outside men's mind there can be nationality because nationality is a manner of looking at oneself, not an entity as such."[7]

M.N. Roy, another arch critic of nationalism, observes, "The revolutionary struggle of a colonial people for freedom could not succeed under the banner of nationalism."[8] It "is based on racial animosity and is reactionary to the extent it seeks to neglect social questions."[9] "Nation is a metaphysical concept and has no reality apart from or over and above, the concrete human individuals composing it."[10]

Another Indian author smells militarism as a feature of nationalism. He reminds Krishna's call o Arjuna to be armed.[11] He again feels that nationalism is an instrument of propaganda. To him, it is an imperative of capitalist development. "It is a means of consolidation of Borgeois Power". He probes imperialistic element in nationalism.[12]

A. Maudoodi believes nationalism as an expression of "national prestige and national aggrandisement."[13]

Byod Shafer believes that men do not become nationalist because of biology. They are not born nationalists. They acquire national consciousness and become national patriots because the political, economic and social conditions and thought of their stock make them so.[14]

In the words of C.D. Burns, militant nationalism narrows down the political outlook of the man, tends to denigrate into aggregate barbarism and order of the international system.[15]

Now the gun may be turned against the Hindu nationalists. One of the main thrusts of Tagore's argument against the revolutionaries and political nationalists was that their actions were not in keeping in the mixing of cultures; cultured forces or 'shaktis' which were at work during long epochs. Harmonising these forces was a slow and difficult process, and acquired mutual tolerance and understanding. Sudden and sometimes violent actions would not substantially contribute to the real task at hand.[16]

Another critic feels after analysing different forms of nationalism that when liberal humanist tradition of nationalist thought in India was weak, a set of Hindu elites, like the Muslim elites, brought forth their case of nationalism. He calls it Hindu variant of separatist Nationalism.[17]

Sir John Seely finds Brahminical chieftaincy in Hindu organisation.[18]

Jawaharlal Nehru did not accept Indian nationalism as tantamount to Hindu nationalism, and advocated cultural pluralism of India. He did not subscribe the concept of assimilative-integral religious approach of nationalism and self-exaltation preached by Dayanada, Vivekananda and Aurobindo. He felt that a Christian or a Muslim could adapt himself to the Indian way of life and culture and yet remained in faith an orthodox Christian or Muslim.[19] In a Foreword to a work,[20] he further maintained, "In a country like India, which has many faiths and religions, no real nationalism can be built up except on the basis of secularity. Any narrow approach must necessarily exclude a section of the population, and then nationalism itself will have a much restricted meaning than it should possess. In India, we would have then to consider Hindu nationalism, Muslim nationalism, Sikh nationalism and Christian nationalism and not Indian nationalism. As a matter of fact, these narrower religious nationalisms are not longer relevant today. They represent a backward and out of date society". In another context he expressed that in ancient and medieval times, the idea of the modern nation was non-existent and feudal religious or cultural bonds had more importance.[21] His inkling is of course got.

Another critic substantiates that patriotism dominated by religion is useless tinsel.[22]

Myron Weinar blasts Hindu nationalism as communal traditional and militant.[23] Jim Masselos devotes a chapter in his work on Indian nationalism and projects Vivekananda, Bipin Chandra Pal and others under the title "Hindu Militancy and Extremist Politics."[24]

Valentine Chirol's condemnation is most characteristic. He contributed to the 'Time Magazine' in 1907 to 1909, which were compiled in the form of a book entitled "The Indian Unrest". His appraisal reads thus: "The whole tendency of the Hindu Revival. . . during the last twenty years had been a consistently anti-Mahammedan as anti-British."[25] A Muslim friend of Chirol wrote to him urging to replace the "narrow nationalism" of the day by a broad and truly liberal imperialism in the practical sense of securing general recognition for India's difficulties[26]. Chirol is sympathetic to Aga Khan who represented a case for the Muslims and writes: "Aga Khan doubtlessly realises that whatever the more or less remote future may have in store for the two communities their increasing antagonism in consequence of the aggressive tendencies displayed by Hindu nationalism observing the last few years is pregnant with immediate danger."[27]

Chirol eulogised the Liberals of the day as advanced in Indian politics, and spurned the Hindu nationalists as merely revivalists.[28] Satirically he wrote, "It (the Hindu nationalism) has invented the legend of a golden age, when all the virtues flourished and India was land flowing with milk and honey until British lust of conquest brought it to ruin."[29] He continued, "..... in British advent to India that not only the writings of English and German scholars like Max Muller and Deutsch, helped enormously to revive the interest of educated Hindus in that ancient literature and earlier form of religion, but it was in the polemical tracts of European writers that the first protagonists of Hindu reaction against Christian influences found their readiest weapon of attack. The campaign was started in 1987 by the Hindu Tract Society of Madras, which set itself first to influence popular fanaticism against the missionaries."[30]

Chirol further stated, "There are, indeed, endless forms of this revival of Hinduism—as endless as to Hinduism itself—but what it is perhaps most important for us to note is that wherever political agitation assumes the most virulent character, there the Hindu revival also assumes the most extravagant shape."[31]

Sir Alfred C. Lyall, in his Introduction to Chirol's work observes, "..... the beliefs and practices of popular Hinduism are obviously irreconciliable with the principles of modern civilisation; and the various indications of a desire to reform and purify their ancient religion be partly due to the perception among educated Hindus that so contradictory a position is untenable, that the incongruity between sacrifices to the goddess Kali and high University degree is top manifest."[32]

Rajani Palme Dutt blames Tilak and Aurobindo because of their identification of national awakening with the revival of Hinduism which cut off the Muslim masses from the national movement.[33] In the words of Guenter Lewy, one serious liability of Hindu nationalism has been its impact on relations between the Muslims and Hindus.[34] Tara Chand remarks that the efforts of Arya Samaj created communal ill-will.[35] Leonard Gordon has taken account that exhortations of Bankim, Vivekananda and Aurobindo were fiercely anti-Muslim.[36] V.P. Verma arguably states that Muslim members resigned from the Sarvajanik Sabha because of the extremist propaganda of Tilak.[37] Ramsay

Muir holds that religious disunity formed the main obstacles to the national movement in India.[38]

Viquarul Mulk cast aspersion thus: "We (the Muslims) are numerically one-fifth of the other community (in 1907). If at any time the British Government ceases to exist in India, we shall have to live as subjects of the Hindus, and our religion will be all in danger."[39] This might suggest, comments an author, that Muslim response to Indian nationalism was conditioned by their relationship with the Hindu community ....Doubtless, this spectre of Hindu domination complied with deep religious misgivings about nationalism, have furnished some scholars with the principal arguments as to why Indian Muslims held away from the Indian National Congress."[40]

Rajani Palme branded RSS, Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh as reactionary and communalist.[41] Another author sketched them as extremists and terrorists.[42] Louis Fischer called RSS militant an anti-Muslim.[43] To A.H. Sidiqui, RSS and its allies are primarily first advocates for imperialist and capitalist forces in the country resorting to violence and disorder.[44] Another felt that Dr. Hedgewar was influenced by Hitler.[45] J.A. Curan ventured to describe Golwalkar as "the master of an Indian school of fascism."[46]

One scholar felt that Jana Sangh played negligible role in harnessing the national traditions either of the ancient polity or of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century nationalists for the regeneration of creative and purposeful nationalism based on secular democracy.[47]

Achin Vanaik comments in reference to Bharatiya Janata Party's upsurge against Bangladeshi Muslim influx (while sympathising Hindu immigrants), in the words, ".....And it is a style or reasoning and a language that is music to the ears of Islamic fundamentalism, Jewish nationalists and white racists the world over."[48]

In the context of Ram Janmabhoomi stir in 1989, Bipin Chandra remarked, "It is an irony that Hindu communalists are attacking the very values that makes Hindus feel proud of their religion. These values are flexibility of mind and approach and tolerance towards different views, religions and cultures."[49]

Govindan Kutty commented on the same imbroglio that the essence of history as force, is the humanisation of gods, and the deification of humans. "To be fair to those creating new wave of Ram consciousness, one must admit that a matter of faith should not be seen in the exclusive light of the logic of law or historiographically."[50]

Prof. S. Gopal maintains, "Hindu chauvinism is an unsurprising counter to the Islamic fundamentalism that is spreading in India and various other parts of the world. Seeking to confront throw-backs to medievalism by modern secular attitude is a difficult endeavour, far easier to take up similar, backward-looking postures in dealing with the menace. Also, just as the Jews were denounced in Nazi Germany as a threat to the economic prosperity of the nation as a whole, so in India Muslims are today being made the scapegoat of impending decline, particularly of retail and small-scale business, in the Indian countryside."[51]

P.N. Haksar maintains, "Reverting back to the ideology of 'Hindutva', it is truly tragic that a persecution syndrome is being assiduously built up in the minds of those who are classified as Hindus. That is what happened in Nazi Germany when the overwhelming majority of the Germans began believing the handful of Jews were bent on destroying German race.[52]

This kind of condemnation may go endless. Certain questions have already been relied whereas certain questions are self-explanatory, certain questions are out of track and the off-shoot of myopic view on nation and Hindu nationalism. Therefore, it needs an elaborate clarification—first on answering the queries and second on the stand of the Hindu nationalists (individual thinkers as well as Hindu nationalist organisations). Therefore, they have been classified as negative and positive parts respectively, which may counter-attack phenomenally the senseless vilifications beside clarifying the just stand in a comparative and critical methodology.

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2

NEGATIVE APPROACH

(I) NOT REGIMENTED

But Universalistic and Humanist

Western/westernised authors face the dichotomy of nationalism and internationalism in view of the experience in Europe which led world-wide conflagration in the first half of twentieth century. Since nationalism in Europe has been the source of unhappiness to millions of people, it is generally believed that nationalism is an evil in itself regardless of whether it is in Europe, Asia, Africa, or anywhere else and under whatever circumstances. But such a belief is erroneous and is the result of a prejudiced evaluation of nationalism.[1] Going back to the annals of history, the overwhelming influence of the Pope over European masses hampered the growth of nationalism. But the same grew out of the reaction against the Pope's interference in religion and against foreign and imperialist aggression. This background gave birth to a reactionary type of nationalism in Europe which re-inforced the view that if nationalism and the authority of the Pope could not go together, nationalism and internationalism were also opposed to each other. Consequently, a crude and extremist form of nationalism was born in every country of Europe. Later a reaction to this extremist reaction was natural to erupt, which led to the emergence of another extremist ideology, i.e., commercialism.[2] In the West, nationalism is a product of reaction as evident from its history, and hence aspersion is being cast on the same all over.

However, there are certain exceptions in the West. Mazzini and his fellow-enthusiasts of other nationalities did not work or plot exclusively for the freedom of their own nations. Theirs was a cosmopolitan nationalism.[3] Hegel had informed that the nation-state was the unit in human organisation and accordingly, the ultimate unit in human allegiance.[4] Prof. Zommern observes that the road to internationalism lies through nationalism.[5] Hindu nationalism moves in this stream. D.B. Thengadi holds that when the whole world was uncivilised, world civilisation was invariably identified with Hindu nationalism. But even in that supreme position of glory the Indians never thought of exploiting other nations in the interests of their own.[6] It is evident from a paper published by the Government of Israel stating that the only race in the world which did not torture them is Hindu race.[7] It is again noteworthy to mention that 90% of the Hindus of the world live in India. They did not expand as Islam or Christianity could, because of their non-prosylitising character. B.B. Mazumdar makes an appraisal that the other (supposed) claimant of nationalism—the aggressiveness and hatred towards other nations had also been absent in India.[8] "It is difficult to think of Hindu imperialism in contrast to the European record of conquest and colonies. The corollary is that Hindu has a "non-acquisitive foreign policy."[9]

To the Hindu nationalists nation is the vehicle of universal truth and is not an entity above them. Golwalker reacts: "This is not chauvinistic nationalism of the kind associated with Mussolini and Hitler in the recent West."[10] The very first chapter of his precious collected work "Bunch of Thoughts" is entitled "Our World Mission" where he writes, "...the mission of re-organising the Hindu people on the lines of their unique national genius which the Sangh (RSS) has taken up is not only a great process of true national regeneration of Bharat but also the inevitable pre-condition to realise the dream of world unity and human welfare."[11] He adds, "History has recorded that it is in this land alone that, right from the hoary times, generation after generation of thinkers and philosophers, seers and sages rose to unravel the mysteries of human nature, dived deep into the world of spirit and discovered and perfected the science of realisation of that Great Unifying Principle. The penance and sacrifice and experience of hundreds of centuries of a whole nation is there as the inexhaustible fountainhead of this knowledge to assuage the spiritual thirst of the world."[12] He writes down in another context that it is the Hindu thought which alone in this world, recognised the entire humanity and has therefore always respected and even protected and encouraged all types of cults and creeds to grow and blossom to their fulfilment.[13] He further views in a speech that Hindu society regards all making as a re-manifestation of Divinity.[14]

The Hindu nationalists are, no doubt, vigorous nationalists, but not swayed by emotion nor are they narrow in their world vision. They are true to their national genius of spiritual unity. One thinker remarks, "....the high water-mark of the Hindu ethos lies in its unique holistic world perception perceiving the entire creation as one single living entity". H.V. Seshadri, following Aurobindo, maintains that nationalism is thus a stage of human evolution. He elucidates, "Nationalism in our view, is a stage for self-expression of the human spirit. It is not self-aggrandisement. It is a journey towards selflessness; towards sacrifice for the larger whole."[15]

V.D. Savarkar, representative Hindu nationalist, asserts, "After all there is throughout this world so far as man is concerned but a single race—the human race kept alive by one common blood, the human blood....

The fundamental unity of man from pole to pole is true, all else only relatively so." He concludes his superb work "Hindutva" with proclamation that "A Shankara claims earth for a Banaras" or "A Turkman explains My country. Oh brothers, the limits of the Universe there the frontiers of my country lie."[16]

Ram Mohan Roy, the inaugurator of modern Indian renaissance dreamt of a League of Nations a century earlier than it really appeared. His vision was of a profound peace and friendly feelings preserved from generation to generation.[17] In a letter to the Minister of foreign affairs of France he stated, ".....All mankind are one great family of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches."[18] Attachment towards one family does not mean hatred to others—so in case of chaste nationalism.

Bankim Chandra harmonised "Swadesh Priti" (love for the country) with "Jagat Priti" (love for humanity).[19] He held that the highest affection is devotion to God, and that is love for humanity. He did not find any contradiction between nationalism and internationalism. Love for humanity or internationalism does not imply that one should allow his country to be ravaged by others. It means equal regard for all. So one should not do harm to others but at the same time should not allow others to injure his self, family and country. If patriotism is cultured in the spirit of disinterestedness and as an integral part of the duty of man, there will be no conflict between nationalism and internationalism.[20]

In fact, the Vedas talk of humanity and not of any section confined to a geographical boundary. "One God of all religions and humanity" is the gospel of the Vedas. It reveals:

> "Sarvepi sukhinah santu sarve santu niramaya.
> Sarve bhadrani pasyantu ma kaschit dukha bhag bhavet".

It means, may all be happy, may all be free from affliction, may all see only auspicious things, and may none be struck with sorrow.

Rig Veda proclaims: "Earth bearing folk of many a language .....In contrast may these creatures yield us blessing."[21]

Bhagwat Gita lays stress on human brotherhood and interprets the concept of 'lok sangraha' as world solidarity.[22] Vedas further exhorts "Vasudhaiva kutumbakam", i.e., to regard the whole world as one family. It is evident that Hindu tradition contemplates the plants like 'tulsi', 'pipal' and 'sal' as sacred, animals like bull, cow, lion, mouse and 'garud' as sacred. It finds sacredness with even certain stones—in fact the whole creation—animate and inanimate—are supposed to sparks of Divinity. This kind of rational and socio-ethical consideration is the motivating force of Hinduism.[23]

Manu, the first law-giver of Hindu Society, intended the message of India to universal application. It reads:

> "Etad desa-prasutasya svam sakasad agrajanaah
> svam charitam
> sikseram prithvyam sarvamanavah".

It means, all the people of the world would learn from the leaders of his country the lessons of their behaviour.[24]

Laxman Rao Bhide, the founder-organiser of Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (foreign branch of RSS) abroad elucidates that "we Hindus always think of the Vishva", (the whole world). The prayer of HSS reads thus:

> "Sarve mangala mangalam
> Deveem sarvatha sadhikam".

It means, let the goddess bestow happiness all over the world.

When the Queen's representative Sir William Bulmer visited an exhibition at Bralford in England in 1984 put up by the HSS, he was touched by the idea of oneness. He exclaimed: "You concern the whole world as one family. What a wonderful concept ! Our prayer even upto this day is for universal well-being."[25] While the West beat the drum of conflict on the basis of duality everywhere, India played the sweet tunes of unity on its Monistic (Advaita) philosophy.

The term nation has a different connotation in the West just as two musical instruments like drum and flute generate extensively different vibrants. Deendayal observes, "Western nationalism has emerged not from mutual co-ordination between human beings but from conflicts, hatred and destruction. But it would be wrong to evaluate India's nationalism on this basis. Indian nationalism was not born for selfish ends. The thought of Indian nationalism has developed not merely in the last three or four hundred years, but in the last thousand years. Its basis is not conflict—it is co-operation and co-ordination".[26] Hindu thought evokes: "Swadesho bhubanatrayam"; which means, the three worlds (viz., heaven, earth and hell) together are our abode. Even in relation to the mundane world they formulate the entire world as the abode. "The Hindu Rashtra concept inspires us", writes Deendayal, "to identify ourselves with the whole humanity and indeed the entire universe with inumerable world". His understanding of "Hindu Rashtra" has accepted the ideals of human life which have matured in the long period of its existence and the consequent way of life it signifies.[27]

Seshadri hastens to add here thus: "In fact, in none of our prayers there is any reference to the achievement of our nation at the cost of others. In recent times too, the same spirit has been forcefully expressed by the pioneers of our national renaissance. Our country has been variously described as "Jagajjananee" (Mother of Universe), the Divine Mother, the Trinity of goddesses of prosperity, knowledge and power, and so on, showing blessings on the entire universe".[28]

There are three categories of international thought, viz., (i) International Communism; (ii) International sectarianism; and (iii) International humanism. The nature of Hindu nationalism belong to the third category.[29] The Sanskrit verse may well be quoted here—"Krunvanto vishvamaryam", i.e., to Aryanise the whole world—which means to make the world nobler, by means of love.

However, the Hindu nationalists are sceptic to the deceptive idea of pseudo-universalism. They realise the fact that a weak country cannot be a world-preceptor; but a strong nation is destined to lead the world. This is a matter of empirical reality.[30] After receipt of much coveted Nobel Prize for literature in 1913, Rabindranath failed to attract audience in Tokyo University on the plea that he was a citizen of a subject nation. Mahatma Gandhi's role as (vain) preceptor in the Third Round Table Conference did not appeal John Bull. Therefore, Subhas Chandra Bose was highly critical on his role that he would have rather truly represented the cause of the subject-nation virulently.[30A]

S.N. Dubey presents the case of the Congress Extremists, who were virtually Hindu nationalists, thus—they "attacked the doctrine of abstract cosmopolitanism which ignored the intermediary stages between the individual and the humanity and made a tremendous fussilads on the notorious thesis of Whiteman's burden. The notion they asserted, is an inevitable stage in the onward march of humanity. The humanity advances gradually and successive stages. The final realisation cannot be possible unless all the previous stages are fully developed. It would not be "well for humanity if it came before the other lesser identifications were completed, for what would necessitate retrogration in order to rescue the step which has been completed". God "does not hasten the ripening of the fruit before its season". Mankind is also too large an aggregate to make itself intimate in the life of individuals and smaller units. And even when mankind becomes a manageable unit of life the intermediary groups, especially the nation, must continue to exist "for the purpose of mass differentiation and the conception and combination of varying tendencies".[31]

Secondly, as it has been pointed above, "the Indian nationalists brushed aside the claim that European civilisation was superior.... that it was the ideal end of human culture. Pal argued that if Europe claimed a superior civilisation, she would have to submit that claim to be a universal standard by which different types of civilisation could be judges and in the light of which they could be compared. After all European culture was as such as good local, a particular thing Asiatic or African culture was. And particulars, he observed, cannot be compared except through the universal. But the universal or the ideal does not exist independently of and outside the real. It is the real that suggests the ideal. And therefore, the ideal end of human culture can be discovered by the historical method of inquiry, by study of the course of evolution of human society and comparison of various civilisation of the world. This method will reveal to us that each civilisation has its own specific contribution to make to the growth of ideal world culture which humanity seeks to reach and which is at once both the inspiration and the goal of its endeavours. Each civilisation is a reflection of divine humanity".[32]

> "The spirit of every race or nation is revealed progressively through the particular line of its historic evolution clothes the spirit of God. Every civilisation is a worthy out of a Divine Purpose. The genius of every nation is as much a temple of God as the body or the spirit of individual man or woman admittedly is".[33]

It was on this basis that Dubey explains that the Extremists claimed equal rights for all races and nations. "The nation, they said, is an organism with its own life and ends. Like every individual every nation has its own separate nature and above the common nature of humanity, and therefore in order to fulfil itself as a part of universal humanity and to help in its own way in the realisation of the destiny of mankind it must develop not only the common human impulse but also separate character and capabilities. And like every individual it must grow, according to the law of its own being and the nature of its corporate individuality. This can be made possible when each race or nation, whatever its stage of growth, its actual endowment or actual acquisitions possesses like every other race or nation, the same unrestricted opportunities of growing to its highest stature".[34]

"Hindu thought looks upon the nation as a stage in the process of human development. Any man can easily understand concepts like Motherland, the society inhabiting it, its culture, etc. He cannot reach the idea of universality at one stretch".[35] In the long-run, he is motivated by the desire of human happiness alone".[36] Dr. Karan Singh is given to believe the same.[37]

Brajendranath Seal, as a Hindu nationalist, was also a champion of universalism. He adhered to saying, "I am a man and nothing human is alien to me".[38] He addressed to the First Universal Races Congress in London that Indian cult of Nation would find its rest and peace and realise the democratic dreams of a World Federation of Parliament of Man.[39]

In similar voice Annie Besant had opined that the purpose of nationality is to serve the world in particular way for which its type fits it. "Every nation has a special mission. And in order to be able to serve mankind to the best of its capacity it must develop according to its own nature. It must be itself and not another. The whole world suffers where a Nationality is distorted or suppressed, before its mission to the world is accomplished".[40] In her words, "Remember that the Indian Nation does not live for itself; and it is a type, unique among all the Nations of the world". In her Congress Presidential Address in 1917, Besant hoped that India would be Benediction of the world.[41]

Mother's womb is meant to conceive for procreation. Hindus do believe that India is the womb of the Mother-Earth. This might be a matter of mystical speculation, but it obviously reflects Indian sentiment to serve the world. In his Uttarpara speech in 1908, Aurobindo said, "While in prison Sri Krishna conveyed me—I am giving India freedom for the sake of service of the world".[42] "As Piedmont was the base of unification of Italy by Cavour", observe an author, "Prussia was the base of unification of Germany and Maharashtra was the base of Shivaji, for establishment of peace", similarly "a Hindu Rashtra shall operate as the base of world peace".[43] Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das sang:

> "Nija swartha lagi jata nuhen Hindu,
> Vishva hite Hindu prati rakta bindu".[44]

It means, Hindu is not born for self-interest: but every drop of his blood is dedicated for the cause of the world.

Dubey further comments : "As it is clear the Indian extremists were not narrow nationalists". The ideal of humanity as perceived by Aurobindo, was integral part of their political thought. In Europe also the dogma of human brotherhood had been preached since the days of French Revolution. But it was a mere sentiment, the expression of broad human sympathy and not the statement of a fundamental truth of social philosophy. There should be physical, mental and spiritual interchange or co-mingling with other races and nations of the world. "As the individual lives by the life of other individuals, so does the nation by the life of other nations, by accepting from them material for its own mental, economic and physical life".[45]

However, "this necessity for mutual intercourse cannot justify aggressions of one against another in any form whatever. The European type of aggressive nationalism is characterised by nationalists as collective selfishness. It does not emanate out of love for one's country, out of the willingness on the part of the individuals or classes to sacrifice themselves to the wider interest of the community. It simply means the utilisation of collective power or resources of the nation for the furtherance of personal or class interests, for the fulfilment of personal or class ambitions. This is the genesis of the cause of imperialism which afflicts the modern world. This kind of nationalism does not lend to the perfection of the individual or community life; it does not assist the individual in liberating from selfishness, and in expanding his self into the larger self of the social aggregate. It is an aberration of human reason, and the deformation of the truth. There is, says Aurobindo, "only one remedy for this pursuing evil and it is to regard the nation as a necessary unit but no more in a common humanity. It is in the life of universal humanity that fulfilment and fruition of all national life and aspirations is to be sought. Regard for all nations and races of the world is of the very essence of nationalism".[46] Aurobindo spoke of nationalism as an 'Avatar'—an incarnation of God, which must emancipate humanity from domestic oppression.[47]

> "Patriotism is good, excellent, divine only when it furthers the ends of universal humanity. Nationality divorced from humanity is a source of weakness and evil and not of strength and good. Europeans talk of humanity, but their humanity is not humanity, but white-humanity which included in itself white, brown, black and yellow, all the races of the world".[48]

"Now the question is, how can this ideal of unity be achieved in practice? The Nationalist leaders reacted the idea of unity through the then empires. It was totally inconceivable with their general political principles. The European empires were artificial, were based on force and exploitation and hence lacked inner unity they created was mechanical. But the world, observed Pal, needed not a political but a social synthesis: it wanted a larger and more organic formula of association than what the old imperialism could offer".[49]

Likewise Jawaharlal Nehru had reacted, "Sometimes we are told that our nationalism is a sign of our backwardness and even our demand for independence indicates our narrow mindedness. Those who tell us so seem to imagine that if we agreed to remain as junior partner in the British commonwealth of Nations..... They do not appeal to realise that this particular type of so-called internationalism is only an extension of a narrow British nationalism".[50]

B.C. Pal wrote that "the eternal problem of nationalism is how to preserve, to develop, to perfect these elements in the consciousness and character of the nation which constitute its essential note, and contribute to its specific functions in the universal life of humanity".[51] He again observed, "Universalism... helped to present the unfortunate divorce between the life of the humanity in and through which alone can all national lives and cultures find their highest and most perfect fulfilment and realisation".[52] He further asserted that nationality is organically related to our highest conception of humanity.[53] He believed spiritual nationalism as the sovereign humanism.[54] Pal was prophetic that the next stage of nationalism would be feudal internationalism.[55] He was sure that nationalism would contribute to its specific functions in the universal life of humanity.[56]

In his work "The Soul of India", Pal would like to synthesise nationalism and universalism. He opines that both nationality and humanity are equally divine. He feels that national life and aspiration gets fruition only in Universal Life of Humanity. He remarks that humanity is the regulative idea in the evolution of man. Simply patriotism is not enough. It has to find its fulfilment of Humanity which is the eternal evolution of men to God.[57] As a 'sanatani' Hindu, he admires 'Varnashrama', and says that "We have developed, international and human unity" by means of it.[58] He again says, "Nationality is inseparable from Universal Humanity". "Hinduism is not merely a federal idea, but it goes further, so that India furnishes a model of that Universal Federation of the World".[59]

Pal insisted that "the great mission this ancient land and its composite people among the modern nations of Europe, Asia and America, is to replace existing international competitions by international co-operation, to substitute the arbitrament of peaceful consultations and reasonable compromise through an impartial international Supreme Court, for arbitrament of murderous arms in the settlement of all international disputes and differences; and thus to help forward the realisation of the poet's dream of the millennium when the nations of the world shall be as One People, living at peace with one another, working together for the furtherance of the common good and the revelation of God in man. The Indian national builder must constantly keep this before him".[60]

Swami Ramatirtha, another great champion of Hindu nationalism, refused to be tied down with any one creed or country. In his words, "The Spirit or 'Atman' is real and hence all manmade differences and divisions cease to have any importance". He preached the brotherhood of men; and talked of oneness of each and all.[61]

In the words of an erstwhile Soviet author, Ramakrishna is marked by specially Indian religious universalism affirming equality of all religions as ways to God.[62] Arnold Toynbee, while writing a foreword to a work on Ramakrishna has stated that the latter's inclusiveness is the indelible imprint of Hindu spiritualist philosophy.[63]

Annie Besant believed that Indian spirituality was to be the Saviour of the world. She believed in the idea of spiritual government of the world.[64] "Nationalism is only a process", she said, and is to receive its fulfilment in the realisation of world brotherhood. To her, the higher stage was the consummation of a commonwealth of cosmopolitan. Her universalism was based on an organic view of the individual, society, nation and humanity. Like Ramakrishna and Vivekananda she believed in synthesis.[65]

To R.C. Dutt, another Hindu nationalist of nineteenth century, progress to every higher stage of humanity seemed imminent.[66]

Bhagwan Das was an exponent of international culture based on recognition of the common essential elements of all religions and culture. To him, humanism, internationalism and inter-religiousness are only aspects of each other. He wanted that the East and the West should come together. Thus he pleaded, like Vivekananda, for peace in place of conflicts[67] and was opposed to the Extremist attachment to one's own local creeds and sectional dogmas. He talked of a spiritual League of Religions.[68]

Aurobindo views that nationalism is not to create hatred. It is the song of continuous liberty.[69] In his language, "In the international society, therefore, national liberty and free national growth and self-realisation must be harmonised with the solidarity of the human race". "In principle, then, the ideal unification, as a first rule of common and harmonious life the human peoples would be allowed to form their own groupings according to their natural divisions of locality, race, culture, economic convenience and not according to the more violent accident of history or the egoistic will of powerful or less timely organised to serve their interests as dependents or obey their commands as subjects".[70] Therefore, Aurobindo compares foreign rule to the parasitic growth of an organism.[71]

Aurobindo abhored chauvinist and regimented nationalism of Germany and Italy. He viewed that at a certain stage, nationalism had to be transcended by a religion of humanity. He expected that Indians would enlighten the world by virtue of its spiritual strength. His interpretation was that "people of other nations think of their welfare, but the people of India consider the interest of the world when they think of their own".[72]

Aurobindo felt that international contacts by themselves do not bring about international unity.[73] It should rather develop intellectually. He suggested different schemes for this purpose—for instance, an individual should be entitled to get citizenship in more than two countries. In his framework of international order, defence departments of the nations should be obliterated out since humanity would protect all.[74]

In the words of Aurobindo, "Nationalism should not be a hindrance to the promotion of internationalism". I have tried to show from the analogy of the post-evolution of the nations that the international unification must culminate in one of two forms. This is likely to be either a centralised World State or a close federation or a simple confederacy of the peoples for the common ends of mankind...A similar process in the World-State will end in the taking up and the regulation of the whole life of the peoples, into its hands; it may even end by abolishing national individuality and turning the divisions that it has created into more departmental groupings, province and districts of the common State". He wanted a federation of free nationalities in which all subjects or forced inequality and sub-ordination of one to another would have disappeared, though some might preserve a greater natural influence, all would have an equal status".[75]

What Aurobindo sought to articulate was nothing short of a World State and religion of humanity as the scope of the future, whose inner spirit is inevitably one. "A religion of humanity means the growing realisation that there is a secret spirit, a divine Reality, in which we are all one, that the human race and the human being are the means by which it will progressively reveal itself here. It implies a growing attempt to live out of this knowledge and bring about a kingdom of this spirit upon earth... The truth of the spirit may step in and lead humanity to the path of its highest possible happiness and perfection".[76] "Our aim will be to help in building up India for the sake of humanity—this is the spirit of the Nationalism which we progress and follow". "We say to humanity", he outlined the outcome of the in-built system, "the time has come when out of a material existence into the higher, deeper and wider life towards which humanity moves. The problems which have troubled mankind can only be solved by conquering the kingdom within, not by harnessing the forces of Nature to the service of comfort and luxury, but by mastering the forces of the intellect and the spirit, by vindicating freedom of man within as well as without and by conquering from within external Nature".[77]

Aurobindo clarified that "national self-determination must harmonise with a common self-determination for the world at large, freedom must move in the frame of unity. To make the nations conscious of their soul in which alone they can find their true unity with all the other nations in a common aspiration towards the truth of the Spirit, this is the task set before man".[78] The very title of his work "Ideal of Human Unity" reveals his univesalistic goal, which supplants the national boundary of any kind.

Swami Vivekanand found that there is oneness which governs humanity. This was his famous declaration at Chicago Parliament of Religions, where he addressed the distinguished audience as "Sisters and Brothers of America" (which conquered their heart). He stood for brotherhood and equality. "God provides ultimate unity in the universe". "In Him we are all one". Different sects will remain just as different forces.[79] "What I want to propagate is a religion that will be equally accepted to all minds; it must be equally emotional, equally mystic, and equally conducive to action".[80]

Vivekananda's clarion call was to "Help and Not Fight", "Assimilation and Not Dissention".[81] "Loving others is virtue", he exhorted, "hating others is sin".[82] Love is the basis of internationalism, he explained. He expected that the Parliament of Religions (where he was the star attraction in September 1893) would be able to preach world peace. "There is but one universe, all but one existence"—was his conclusion. Therefore, he denounced exclusiveness and declared: "My interests are international".[83] "The whole universe is one existence. There cannot be anything else. Out of diversities we are all going towards this universal existence. Families into tribes, tribes into races, races into nations, nations into humanity—how many wills going to the One. It is all knowledge, all science—the realisation of this unity".[84]

Vivekananda's explanation was that "each individual is like a bubble, and nations resemble many bubbles. Gradually these nations are joining, and I am sure the day will come when separation will vanish and that oneness to which we are all going will become manifest".[85] In his words, further, the Arya vowed: "We shall conquer the world by means of love". "You and I are not only brothers as every literature on freedom teaches, but we are one. This is the teaching of Indian philosophy".[86] He talked of universal freedom and salvation of humanity. He further clarified, "Vedanta only can be the universal religion in the world, because it teaches principles and not persons". He preached, monism of the Advaita philosophy of Vedanta and is conceived that only this would be the future religion of humanity.[87] "The national idea works for the world", he reiterated. "India is still living because she has her own quota yet to give to the world civilisation".[88] He beseeched, "So let us give to the world whatever we can and let us receive whatever we can".[89] "The Hindus' calm brain must pour out its own quota to give the sum total of human progress. India's gift to the world is the light spiritual".[90]

Vivekananda concerned India's having lost touch with the rest of the world, as a result of which India became stagnant and mummified. He observed that the gate of "our isolation from all other nations of the world is the cause of our degeneration and its remedy is getting back into the current of the rest of the world".[91] Following him, M.G. Ranade condemned the isolation and exclusiveness of the Hindus and asked them that they should embrace the whole of mankind with open arms.[92] Annie Besant also did not like isolation of the nation from the rest of the world.[93]

Vivekananda again held: "India had fallen because she had neglected herself for a long period, gone into her shell and thus sunk into a state of crystallised civilisation". "Even in politics and sociology, problems that were only national twenty years ago can do no longer be solved on national grounds only. They are assuming huge proportions, gigantic shapes. They can only be solved when looked at in the broader light of international grounds". "Again there cannot be any progress without the whole world following in the wake, and it is becoming everyday clearer that the solution of any problem can never be attained on social or national or narrow grounds. Every aspiration must go on increasing till it has engulfed the whole humanity within its scope". "I am thoroughly convinced that no individual or nation can live by holding from the community of others and where such an attempt has been made false idea of greatness, policy or holiness—

the result has always been disastrous to the secluding one.... Motion is the sign of life", he explained. "India must learn from Europe how to subjugate external nature and Europe must learn from India how to subjugate the inner nature".[94] He was all for unification of Hindu spirit, European mind and Islamic body. "We have many things to learn from others", he added, ".... the nation that says it knows everything is on the brink of destruction".[95]

In his America lectures, published in Ada Record, Vivekananda put emphasis on divinity of man, and consequent unity of man.[96] The substance of his lectures was that "no religion on earth preaches the dignity of humanity in such a lofty strain as Hinduism".[97] He combined a burning love of the Absolute and the irrepressible appeal to suffering humanity.

One of Vivekananda's compiled work entitled "The Ideal of a Universal Religion" highlights how the universal religion must embrace different types of minds and methods.[98]

Finally, Vivekananda appreciated the role of science which is responsible to unify the world. He further held that international organisations, international combinations and international laws are the cry of the day. Thus, he emerged as the elite conciliator of modernism and traditionalism.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, as a Vedic scholar, was looking for universal values. He appreciated the oneness of the world even in practical field. He fought against British imperialism since it was foe of nationalism as well as internationalism. His sense of nationalism did not narrow down his internationalistic outlook. In his address to the Congress Democratic Party in 1920, Tilak welcomed the newly born League of Nations. He felt that the League was instrumental for enforcing world peace, the integrity of the states, and hence the freedom of nations and nationalities, and for ending exploitation of one by another. Tilak addressed to all concerned: "Make the country your family instead of working only for your own. The steps beyond it is to serve humanity and the next step is to serve God".[99] His conception of nationalism was a combination of the Vedanta for ideal of the spiritual unity of mankind and the western notion of nationalism as propounded by Mazzini, Burke, Mill and Wilson.[100]

Lajpat Rai viewed not to rule or impose his culture on others.[101] K.C. Bhattacharya also stood for human brotherhood. Vedicism, according to him, stands for a brotherhood of spirit.[102] Dr. S. Radhakrishnan analyses that other religions also believe in universal brotherhood—the Christians, Muslims and others. Jews' Bible does not begin with the Jews. It starts with the story of Adam which in Hebrew means man. The Stoic thinkers declare that all men are brothers by an inseparable law of nature.[103] This kind of analysis demonstrates the very psyche of Hindu thinkers like Dr. Radhakrishnan which is aimed at appreciation of others leading to emotional assimilation.

Golwalkar finds that the mission of Hindu consolidation that the RSS has taken up inspired by this vision of unlocking the door of supreme happiness for entire mankind, and quotes a Sanskrit saying, which means: "The jackle of other theories will be howling only so long as the Lion of Vedanta does not give out the great and all-powerful roar".[104] He calls upon re-instated India as the cultural guide of the world.[105]

To Deendayal Upadhyay, "with the support of universal knowledge and heritage, we shall create a Bharat which will excell all its past glories and will enable every citizen in its fold to steadily progress in the development of his manifold latent possibilities and to achieve through a sense of unity with the entire creation, a state even higher than that of a complete being: to become 'Narayan' from 'Nar' (from man to God). This is the external divine form of our culture. This is our message to humanity at cross-roads. May God give us strength to succeed in this task".[106]

Upadhyay moves from the individual to the universe through the nation in a spiral form. Each sphere is connected with the other, and not isolated. He puts it in this form: "Family is the first stage when the individual identifies himself with the joys and sorrows of the family members and thereby expends himself. He then identifies with the village, the community and then goes on expanding his spheres of the nation. But the nation itself does not represent the end of the journey. That is a major stage from which he moves on to the entire mankind and later embraces entire living world and finally the whole of creation".[107]

Addressing a training camp of RSS, H.V. Seshadri exhorted: "Sure, now the world is ripe to listen to the Hindu voice". He recalled the message given by the Governor of America to the convention held there: "Be proud that you belong to Hindu culture and you alone cannot make the American culture beautiful: without the Hindu culture our American culture will be orphaned". Pointing out that India has been the mother of all the world, Seshadri said that "we have given socour to every nation of the earth". That is why an American philosopher said: "India—the Mother of us all".[108]

Peter Lloyd, British Home Office Minister said in a HSS convention in Chritenburh on 6 August 1992 in the words, "We can all share in the Hindu belief that the world is one big family". He praised the efforts of the Hindu community that those who train young people are themselves fully equipped to carry out their task. He expected their co-operation in enriching them to merge in their national mainstream. After all, the Britishers consider the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh as the best youth organisation in their country.[109]

Thengadi commends on the functioning of RSS in relation to global unity thus: "Hinduism being the inspiration of thoughts and actions of the Sangh top leaders, the scope of the vision has always been national—international related to entire humanity. While from the practical point of view, they want to build a small house, their final aim has been to carry for the infinite universe".[110]

In the long-run, the Jana Sangh document can be cited, which well balances the ethos of nationalism and the world unity. It reads: "A society which has filial devotion to its own land and a characteristic genius of its own, constitutes a nation. The genius is innate and inborn and not the product of merely of geography and history. The rise and fall of nations depends very much on how their conduct has variegated characteristics of theirs, different nations can play a community role in the building up of world unity. If any nation does not do so and impairs unity it should be considered a perversity. To seek to do away with nations in order to build up world unity would be like demolishing the name of promoting corporate will".[111]

Thus, from the above analysis it is evident that Hindu nationalism is not jingoistic nor chauvinist. On the other hand, we find two dimensions of its world vision, viz., internationalism and cosmopolitanism or universalism. Internationalism besets or presupposes the existence of different nations which would survive in an atmosphere of peace in relation to other nations; while cosmopolitanism refers to universal oneness or complete human unity where nations are irrelevant. The latter ensues the former. Hindu nationalism marches on this route of evolution; and a critic must not dwell in the fantasy of Hitlerian shadow for nothing.

(II) NOT ANTI-MINORITIST

Nor Communal—Nor Theocratic

Conceptually the Hindu nationalists do not consider any one as non-Hindu in India since the term Hindu does not refer to religion but to geo-cultural manifestation of India. So, even the Muslims and Christians owing to Semitic religions may be called Hindu-Christian or Hindu-Muslim same way as Indian Christian or Indian Muslim respectively. Secondly, even if hypothetically they are non-Hindu as per understanding of common parlance. They are not alienated from the fundamentals of Hindu nationalism. Vedas proclaim:

> "Janam bibhrati bahuda vivachasam,
> Naua dharmanam prithvi yathounkasam".

It means, our motherland give equal shelter to people speaking different languages and following different faiths.[112] Further the Upanishad declares:

> "Gavam aneka varnam kshirasyastya eka narvate;
> Kshirarat pasyate jnanam linguinas tu gavam yatha".

It means, though cows are of many colours, their milk is of one colour; the truth is one like the milk while the forms are many like the cows.[113] Further, the Hindu view towards divinity may be expressed thus:

> "Ekam sat, vipra bahuda vadanti".

It means, the reality is one, scholars describe it in different ways. "God himself has no name; it is we who give him a name". Further

> "Ye yadhaman prapadyanthe,
> Tam sthadhaiva bhajamyaham".

It means, in whatever form you worship me, I shall bless you through that very form. Again,

"Sarva Deva namaskarah keshavam pratigacchhati".

It means, you may bow before any deity, it does not matter, it will reach the Almighty.

The Hindu nationalists: Following these postulations hold the balance of pluralism and monism. They do not mean that the so-called non-Hindus have no stake in this country or they are to be treated as somewhat inferior. It is significant that Hindu theory rarely advocates religious persecution,[114] nor Hinduism thrusts on any what he does not want.[115] One Israeli diplomat testified that empirically the Hindus did not persecute others.[116]

Tolerance, absorption and assimilation are 'sine qua non' in Hindu religio-national world-view. This is the land where every religious denomination of the world found place and got opportunity to blossom. "He cannot be a Hindu at all who is intolerant of other faiths", insists Golwalkar.[117] "It is the Hindu thought which alone in the world recognised the immanence of One Supreme Power in the entire humanity. It is only a strong and resurgent Hindu nation that stands guarantee to the free and prosperous life of the so-called minorities sharing equal opportunities as the proud children of the motherland. If inspite of this glowing testimony of history, some continue to assert that the concept of Hindu nation is a challenge to the very existence of the Muslim and Christian co-citizens and that they will be thrown out or exterminated, nothing could be more absurd or detrimental to our sentiment. It is an insult to our sublime cultural heritage".[118] V.D. Savarkar, the classic authority on the concept of Hindutva, stated that non-Hindus would share equally with Hindus all fundamental rights and obligations.[119]

History testifies that the Hindu state never interferes with the religious life of the individual as the Pope used to do in the Holy Roman Empire or the Khalifa used to do in the Ottoman Empire. Ashoka was the only exception who had one institutionalised religion, but his approach was certainly liberal. He did not persecute anybody in the name of religion. In his twelfth edict, Ashoka proclaimed: "He who does reverence to his own sect, while disparaging the sects of others, wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the glory of his sect in reality, by such conduct, inflict the severest injury on his own sect. Concord, therefore, is meritorious, to wit, hearkening and hearkening willingly to the law of piety as accepted by other people".[120] Ashoka perceptibly announced:

> "Devam priyah priyadarshini raja sarvate icchhati sarve pasanda vaseyuh".

It means, the king desires that everywhere all religions will dwell.[121]

However, "Dharma Rajya" must not be confused with theocratic state since Dharma is not religion. Dharma "is the recognition that the world is an Order or cosmos of which each man is a part and to which he stands in a definitely established relation together with action-based on consistent with recognition and in harmony with the whole cosmic activity".[122] Under Dharmas Rajya, as understood in Indian perspective, justice would prevail; and this kind of attitude is the only guarantee to all religions. Therefore, Hindu state means secular state in true spirit of the term.[123] Hinduism is centripetal,[124] non-sectarian[125] and non-theocratic.[126] Vedic notion or Hindu notion for that matter is not religious in narrow sense of the term.[127] It represents the entire wavelength of Indian nationalism.[128]

"The essential character of Indian cultural tradition has been its resilient element of value regardless of source from which they have come".[129] "Hinduism emphasises individual meditation rather than dogma. It stands contrast to Islam which counsels a theocracy or religious state, a concept absent in Hinduism".[130] Hindu nation is secular from the point of view of "sarva dharma sama bhava"—equal treatment to all religions. "We (the Hindus) never quarrelled over the names of modes of worship of God... We also believe that any honest and sincere prayer offered to him in whatsoever manner is to be respected. It is this faith in the broad spiritual fraternity of man that made us welcome Jews, Muslims, Christians and Parsees to our land". "We assert—my path is right and so is yours too". The West asserts, "My religion alone leads to God". This is the western metaphysics while India says: "Your religion also leads to God".[131] It is evident from the ongoing analysis that a Hindu nation is not a theocratic state unlike the Islamic states whatsoever.

In this context the ideas of eminent Hindu nationalists may be recalled to substantiate the point at stake. Dayananda's Vedic Swaraj is devoid of theocratic element. It is a welfare state,[132] which means welfare of all. He was emphatic that his purpose and aim was to help in putting an end to mutual wrangling, to preach universal truth, to bring all men under one religion so that they may, by ceasing to hate each other and firmly loving each other, live in peace, and work for their common welfare. In his words, "All those things which are common to all religions are acceptable to me. I condemn false things, for they create different faiths. It is my objective to put clearly before public all the secrets and open things of all religions, so that all and sundry may be able to exchange their views and reach some unanimity... My sole aim is to believe in what is true and help others to believe in it. I neither accept the demerits of different faiths whether Indian or alien, nor reject that is good in them... At present there are learned men in all religions. If they give up prejudices, accept all those broad principles on which all religions are unanimous, reject differences and behave affectionately towards each other, much good will be done to the world. The differences of learned people aggravate the differences among the common masses with the result that miseries increase and happiness is lost".[133]

In fact, Dayanada convened an All-Religion meeting in Delhi in 1871 to this end.[134] It demolished the apprehension that the Arya Samaj did not aim at any future, outside and beyond the pale of Hinduism. Lajpat Rai proclaimed: "For the first time in the history of Hinduism since its fall, a Hindu scholar opened the sealed gate of Hinduism to the rest of mankind".[135]

Bhudev Chandra was a defender of neo-Hinduism. He believed in "live for the sake of others". He considered Hinduism as most inclusive and universal. In his autobiography he wrote: "Hinduism is inclusive in its aim, so it does not hate any religion. Therefore, no articles in the Education Gazette may contain an attack against the Brahmas, the Mahammedans, the Christians and others". He also wrote the following:

> "Why is the Sanatana Hinduism of the Indians undecaying, immortal and complete in all conditions?
> Because it is the wide, all-embracing, all merciful religion, open to all kinds of Sadhana and to all kinds of seekers".[136]

Vivekananda, like his preceptor Ramakrishna, did not reject any school of thought. Both of them had non-sectarian attitude.[137] Both held that man does not proceed from error to truth, but from truth to higher truth. "If Mahammad or Buddha is good, how does the goodness in me is affected? questioned Vivekananda, and himself answered: "My God is true and yours is not true is wrong". He was against sectarian bigotry and its horrible descendant, fanaticism.[138] Simultaneously he continued: "I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world with both tolerance and universal acceptance. We accept all religions as true.... like the laws of sciences".[139]

Ramakrishna taught tolerance of other faiths and pride in one's own religion.[140]

Vivekananda, in his lectures in the United States put emphasis on religious harmony. *Saginaw Evening News* quotes him: "The first invaders of India, the Aryans (hypothetically) did not exterminate the population of India as the Christians have done when they went into a new land, but the endeavour was made to elevate persons of brutish habits".[141] *Washington Post* quoted him admiring all religions as good.[142] In his Chicago address, Vivekananda expressed that he belonged to a country which had provided shelter to all those who were banished from their religion. He cited that Jews were provided shelter in South India in the year when their sacred temple was melted in the ground by the Romans. He also cited the fact that his nation saved and nursed the Parsee race in its fold.[143] He further declared to preach such a religion which would not antagonise Buddhism nor it would constitute a distinct voice than that of Christianity.[144]

In affirming Hinduism and ideals of the East, Dr. Radhakrishnan did not reject what was of value in other faiths. On the principle that the best was not the enemy of the good. Hinduism, he claimed, accepted all forms of belief and only raised them to a higher level.[145] He endeavoured to show the relevance of Hinduism to modern man. The time required not a surrender of its basic principles, but restatement of them with special reference to the needs of more complex and mobile social order.[146]

History bleeds with the fact that the process of conversion began with the advent of Islam and then by Christianity. The vast population living in forests and hills, and the so-called untouchables were alienated from the Hindu mainstream for the unquestioned weakness of the latter, and they became easy victims of the semitic religions. It was definitely an aberration of the Hindu society which had turned into a dinoseur, being unable to sense amputation of its own body. On the other hand, there was no rationale on the part of the semitic religions to convert them. India has "Dharma" of her own to follow;[147] and as Gita says, better is to follow one's own Dharma than that of another however exalted. Nietsche asks: "What saith thy conscience?" and answers: "Though shalt not become what thou art not. Never be virtuous beyond they nature".[148] There are drawbacks more or less in every religious denominations correspondingly. But conversion syndrome only ensues unabated confrontation.

Implication of conversion in India is more troublesome so much so that Hindu is the basis of Indian nationalism, and conversion of Hinduism is susceptible to make him denationalised, which was clearly stated by Vivekananda. 'Baltimore American' recalls his speech which sought less doctrine and more bread to India from the West.[149] *Brocklyn Times* again quoted him, "The Hindu's view of life is that we are here to learn... the human being is here to love learning and get experience. I am able to read my Bible better by your Bible, and you will learn to read your Bible better of my Bible. If there is but one religion to be true, all the rest must be true. The same truth has manifested itself in different forms, and the forms are according to the different circumstances of the physical ornamental nature of the different nations... All religions are so many stages through which the human soul passess to realise God. Therefore, not as a child becomes a young man, and a young man becomes an old man, so they are travelling from truth, they become rigid, and will not move further when he ceases to grow.... The object of life is to learn Christians from the Hindus, and the Hindus from Christians.... Religion is a positive something.... The Hindu bows down to all religions for in this world the idea is addition, not subtraction".[150]

Conversion has been a conspicuous area over which the Hindu society has much to react. Even during the period of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, certain notable conversions took place which created havoc. Consequently, some Hindu organisations resorted the policy of counter-conversion, and simultaneously the very practice of conversion was ridiculed by the Hindus. The Arya Samaj stood at the fore-front on the move as a matter of national service which poured electrifying impact. Dayananda challenged the other sides to prove their superiority over Hindus. However, true to the Vedic spirit he had high appreciation for humanity. The Visva Hindu Parishad followed the footstep of Arya Samaj in matter of conversion. Since conversion had become an one-way traffic, re-conversion and offensive posture was deemed imminent from nationalist stand-point.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, as Jana Sangh President, declared, "While every religion is true, why to resort conversion?"[151] In 1978, an erstwhile BJP member and the then Janta Party M.P., Om Prakash Tyagi introduced a Private Member's Bill in Lok Sabha entitled "Freedom of Religion Bill", which sought ban on conversion swayed under force and fraud.[152] Supporting the Bill, the 'Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha' of RSS endorsed resolution in March 1979 that "Prosylitisation and secularism are incompatible".[153] However, the Bill was pegionholed under political compulsion.

Hindu nationalists like Bankim Chandra, Aurobindo and Tilak were not anti-Muslim.[154] In reference to Ganapati festival initiated by Tilak, he made it clear that though the celebration was revived to bring together the Hindus, the object was not to foster a spirit of enmity against the Muslims. He refuted the charge that his propagation of the Shivaji festival or the congregational celebration had any anti-Muslim inspiration.[155] He maintained that Shivaji had killed Afzal Khan not because he was a Muslim but because he was an obstacle in the way of national progress. In fact, while the Hindus resisted Muslim oppressors they did not quarrel with Islam as religion.[156] This was Tilak's line of approach. It is evident that when he arrived in Calcutta in June 1906 to participate in the Shivaji festival, he was accorded a rousing welcome at the station platform and in the streets by Hindus and Muslims alike.[157] He also earned applause from the Khilafat leaders next decade.[158] Further, it is true that the Anushilan Samiti did not make room for the Muslims, but it never encouraged ill-feeling towards them.[159]

So far as Lajpat Rai was concerned, while laying every stress for unity among the Hindus, he continued to work for religious harmony.[160] It may be recalled that at the time of communal holocaust in 1947, Mohammad Ali Jinnah asked the people at Lahore to see that Lalaji's statue was not desecrated—such was his stature in the Muslim world: In sum, the widely prevalent notion that the national revolutionaries of the earlier period were anti-Muslim is without foundation.[161]

Bhatkar, erstwhile President of Hindu Mahasabha, outlined. "Many seem to have not yet anticipated between a 'communal' party meaning a party whose membership is open to a specific community and 'communalist' party, meaning a party which is not only open to a particular community, but which is bent on frustrating its own interests in utter disregard of the rightful claims of the other communities... I ask its worst detractors to point out a single instance where the Mahasabha has made any demands for what exceeds the due and proper share of the Hindu community, or where the Mahasabha has deviated even by a little from the path of nationalism and democracy".[162]

Swami Abhayananda, a brother-disciple of Swami Vivekananda, draws a distinction between the Christianity of Jesus and the Christianity of the Fathers. He declared that whereas the Hindu has no hesitation to accept the former which is the true religion of the heart, he can never accept the latter which is nothing but organised dogmatism. He observes : "Though religions are many, the Religion is only one. It is the Religion of man. The Hindus have no quarrel with anybody". He concludes that there can be as many paths to cultivate as there are persons". "Every Hindu ought to cultivate equal respect for all other religions too, because Hinduism preaches that these also lead to the same goal".[163] Golwalkar adds with the same tone that Jesus was a great man. But Indian Christians, he continues, "will have to mend their ways. Their subsidised attempt to impose their creed on poor Hindu is repugnant".[164]

Jay Prakash Narain's understanding, like Abul Kalam Azad, was that the Muslims and Christians in India were mere converts. "Their feeling of Separatism was exploited by Imperial British, and hence the seeds of minoritism grew up in this land.[165] It was never natural feeling but manufactured. "However, so far as Hindu nationalism is concerned, it has nothing to do with any religion and had only geographical connotation".[166] It was also the contention of Justice Mohammad Karim Chagla that the Muslim problem was not a racial problem because by and large the muslims belong to the same race as Hindus, and he testifies from his deep study that no people in the world have been as catholic and less prosylitising than the Hindus.[167]

Dr. Hedgewar, founder of the RSS, made it clear that his organisation was there to inspire the people with patriotism and not to challenge or provoke the Muslims or anybody else.[168] It was also Golwalkar's declaration that the so-called minorities living here have nothing to lose but everything to gain by the rejuvenation of Hindu Reshtra.[169] He further elucidates, "The Muslims can remain Muslims in religion. But he can accept the national heritage and rejoin Hindu society... We must knock out unscientific intolerance of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Muslims should have no objection to bring Islam in line with reason and intuition and so facilitate their passage into the Mother Society—once Muslim rationalise Islam there will be no difficulty. For all are agreed on the unity of God and the necessity of surrender to God".[170] He recalls that the Muslims enjoyed perfect freedom and equality in the powerful Hindu empire under the Vijayanagaram Kings, in the Punjab under Sikh heroes. "The latest Hindu power which arose under the greatest Shivaji, too, did not discriminate against Muslims on the score of religion".[171]

Mahatma Gandhi's feeling was that we are heirs of the heritage of the whole of humanity and not merely of our nation or religion. Dr. Radhakrishnan felt that inter-religious understanding is native to India.[172] He asserted that we should treat all religions as friendly partners in the supreme task of nourishing the spiritual life of mankind.[173]

The BJP document reads: "Tolerance of and respect for all faiths and creeds is an essential feature of the Indian state. Freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed to all and the state does not discriminate against any one on grounds of religion either in the formulation of policy or in its implementation. It is a non-sectarian state and not a theocratic state".[174]

The BJP document clarifies: "We have never had a theocracy, with a state religion, in India. In fact, it is not possible in India because of its inherent magnanimous cultural heritage. This being our tradition there is no scope for discrimination against anybody on grounds of caste, creed, language or region. It is the duty of the state to ensure justice for all citizens and for all sections of society".[175] The Party, which is embedded with the philosophy of Hindu nationalism, does not intend to establish a theocratic state. L.K. Advani declared in the National Council meeting at Bangalore on 18 June 1993 that theocracy is not the essence of 'Hindu Rashtra'.[176] Arguably BJP rejects the allegation of anti-minoritism because it claims that the Hindus are secular.[177]

H.V. Seshadri spelt in an interview that theocracy means the establishment of the state on the basis of beliefs and dogmas of a self-righteous religion, intolerant of all other modes of worship. The custodians of such a religion dictate what policies the state should or should not pursue. But all these are anathema to the Hindu concept of statecraft. The personal faith of the ruler or of the majority of the subjects does not enjoy any preference over the rest. All are equally respected by the state in their honest religious pursuits. This is so because of the ingrained Hindu conviction of "as many ways to reach God as there are diversities of human faculties and temperaments. Such has been our unique historical tradition also".[178]

Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's explanation goes a long way, that "the goal to restore to the Nation, its supreme glory is not inconsistent even in the modern concept of democracy. So long as the people belonging to the non-Hindu sects do not indulge in anti-national activities by power, do not conspire to push the nation back in its progress on the path to glory, a guarantee of providing them all the civil rights and equal status in political, religious and cultural field is implied in the concept of the Hindu Nation".[179]

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in his address to Indore BJS session expressed that his party would be a "Panth nirapeksha" party, which means impartial to all religious denominations; and following the cultural heritage of co-existence of state and religion.[180] He assured to provide equal rights to all communities.[181] Following him, L.K. Advani held that Hindu belief is essentially secular, which strives for harmony.[182] The top leadership of the BJP has been stressing, from time to time that it is not against the Muslims who are as much part of Indian society as Hindus. It has established a Minority cell which looks after the interests of the minorities especially the Muslims.[183] Three-day session of the said cell at Agra expressed resolve to equal status for minorities.[184]

It was evident during the crisis of 1947 that the RSS men never refused to help all irrespective of religion. If they found any Muslim women or children in need of succour, they escorted them to camps run by Muslim League.[185] This fact was experienced in various similar occasions later on—may it be natural calamity or so. RSS- Jana Sangh's efforts seemed to have contributed to the easing of communal tensions in Punjab after the 1966-partition of that state.[186]

With the experience of internal emergency the RSS made an attempt of communal harmony in 1977. The resolution of its 'Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha' in March 1978 read: "Islam, Christianity, Zorastrianism have participated in the congregations organised for the purpose by the RSS workers at different places, and exchange views. As a result of these get togethers the communication gap among the followers of different religions has narrowed down and to an extent goodwill and amity developed".

> "In the light of the dialogue 'Param Poojaniya' (Most Revered) Bala Sahab Deoras had, during the course of his tours, contacted with distinguished Christians including the Archbishop of Agra as well as eminent Muslim dignitaries at Aligarh and other places, the ABPS exhorts all citizens in general and RSS 'Swayamsevaks' in particular to further expedite this process of mutual contact by participation in each other's social functions. The ABPS is confident that such programmes will generate an amicable countrywide atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust and thus hasten the process of national integration".[187]

Former RSS Chief Golwalkar wanted the assimilation of the minorities within the Hindu nation.[188] His statement in 1948 read: "RSS did not wish to deprive the minorities of their rights and that it did not advocate a Hindu 'raj' to the exclusion of non-Hindu citizens". He recalled the secular credential of Hindu state.[189]

RSS reply to the Bahri Tribunal in 1993 is worthwhile to be mentioned, which reads, "The accusation that RSS opposed to Muslim is wrong. RSS never opposed to Muslim or to any other community, caste, religion or creed or any group of persons on linguistic basis. It is opposed to anybody who tampers with the unity and integrity of India, that is why it opposed those who wanted partition of India". "Our national identity lies in Hinduness". "It is submitted that the term Hindu is thus an inclusive concept not limited to any community or a religion and therefore cannot exclude Muslims or Christianity and in fact, includes them as Hindu. It is in this sense of the term that the RSS regards Bharat as culturally a Hindu nation. This is the means of Hindu Rashtra expounded by the RSS. It is offensive to none and disregards no religion or nobody on religious grounds". "Hindu is a nation's ideological content. The word 'Hindu' has been firmly imprinted in our national mind".[190]

Article 4 of the RSS constitution reads: "In keeping with the cultural heritage of India the Sangh has eternal faith in the basic principles of tolerance towards all religions".[191]

All these explanations reveal that the Hindu nationalists have been possessed of broad framework of mind so far as other religious denominations are concerned, beside other matters. But the cobra of minoritism was developed by the Imperial British design, and it was acquiesced by the Congress in the form of appeasement right since the Lucknow Pact. Minority complex ensued organised minority bargaining which proved disastrous to chaotic majority. During the period of non-co-operation movement, Dr. Hedgewar wrote a letter to Gandhiji, which read: "Long before this slogan of Hindu-Muslim unity came into vogue, many leading Muslims had identified themselves with our nation and worked shoulder to shoulder with Hindus under the leadership of Lokmanya Tilak—e.g., Barrister Jinnah, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan and others. But I am afraid that this new slogan, instead of helping unity, it might further aggravate the feeling of separateness among the Muslims". Gandhiji replied, "I have no such fears".[192]

Muslim minoritism compounded with appeasement culminated in Partition; yet the policy continued to persist. British policy was to divide and rule, and post-independence ruling party pursued the same to get empowerment. Abolition of cow-slaughter and uniform civil code are prescribed in the Constitution—of course in the Directive Principles of State Policy; but it remains in the cold storage. Rather a reverse Act was enacted when the Supreme Court delivered verdict in 1985 in Shah Bano case, who was a Muslim divorcee seeking intervention of the apex Court for having maintenance. The Court, on moral and humanitarian ground, passed judgment favourably. But the Islamic fundamentalists felt injured lest their Personal Laws would be infringed at the caprice of the state authority. It would have been enforced just as different reform acts have been enforced in relation to Hindus. But the Parliament preferred to amend the Criminal Procedure Code to marginalise the verdict of the Supreme Court.[193]

Similarly, 'Satanic Verses' written by Salman Rushdie was dubbed by Khominie, the religious head of Iran in 1988, who issued a 'fatwa' (Religious decree) after the head of the former. India did not lose time in banning the book though it was not done so in Britain itself where the book was published.

All those have been consistently condemned by Jana Sangh/Bharatiya Janata Party on the ground of paying priority to the nationalist cause, while the same being considered as minority cause by the rest. K.L. Sharma, BJP General Secretary, reiterated that his party treats Muslims as equal and not as potential vote bank, and as such it is not anti-Muslim.[194]

H.V. Seshadri, in the capacity of General Secretary of RSS, addressed at Ramlila ground of Delhi on the occasion of celebration of lift of ban on the organisation, appealing to the Muslims to come closer to them to realise that RSS is not anti-Muslim. K.S. Sudarshan, the Joint General Secretary, urged the Muslim school to redefine the concept like 'quafir' (cursed) and 'dar-ul harab' (unholy land) in the modern context to remove mutual misgivings and misunderstanding.[195]

Minorities are to be protected. But it must not be construed that they should be over-privileged, which is out of context else where. Problems of all communities are to be dealt on equal footing. That is why the RSS-BJP spurn the institution of Minority Commission. The latter conveys that minorities are oppressed by the majority in this country[196] which is far from truth. In case there is any grievance with them, they are not isolated from the rest of the country. It could be rather solved by the Human Rights Commission meant for all communities. Negatively speaking, an institution like the Minority Commission harbours the feeling of minoritism and separatism detrimental to the national interest. It obstructs emotional integration. The so-called minority communities shall have to behave responsibly as their counterparts in national life of other countries. The government and political parties must not encourage the narrow sectarian outfits. It is only on this ground that BJP expressed disenchantment over the demand for establishment of Islamic court.[197] The pertinent question is, should the factor of minority be made a permanent factor for all time to come, which means, should not they merge with the national mainstream? Should not the psyche of oneness be accentuated? Reservation leads to separatism, and finally, dismemberment.

Following the concept of Hindu nationalism, Hindu organisations is likely to be holistic cutting across the mode of worship. Apparently, it is resilient in its religious approach taking the entire wavelength of history into account. But the problem here is that Hinduism is equated with Islam and Christianity though there is world of distinctions in relation to Indian nationalism and socio-ethical consideration. Hinduism is not a religion in strict sense of the term. It is without any particular date of its initiation, with no definite preceptor nor holy book as made available with any religion. It comprises several sects with or without religious rituals. It does not have a single characteristic which distinguishes them as a community.[198] R.N. Gilchrist sums up : "There is no definite Hindu creed. The word 'dharma' which is usually translated as religion, refers more to conduct than to belief".[199] "Tolerance in matters of religious belief", he continues, "is accompanied by a corresponding intolerance in matters of conduct.... it is popularly believed that Hinduism as a religion is not a close corporation, that as contrasted with Mohammedanism and Christianity, it is non-prosylitising, non-missionary".[200] In fact, the use of suffix 'ism' in case of Hindu is misnomer though it is used as a matter of working hypothesis. It is a 'Dharma', a way of life developed in this land of Aryavarta since time immemorial. It is as much associated with the culture of the land than different religious creeds. So, when the conceptual foundation of Hinduism is grasped it dispels the stigma of communalism.

However, along with the conceptual juxtaposition in common parlance, communalism developed in this country more particularly since the latter part of nineteenth century, and which served as fuel to sustain British colonialism. "New Nationalism", as it was said to be, was explained by the Britishers as Hindu hegemony; and the Muslim community suffering from inferiority complex in the area of education and economy brewed excitement. The factor of Hindu renaissance was over-emphasised in order to explain Muslim communalism;[201] and the latter thrived under communal identification with

Muslim invaders complicating the whole range of Hindu Muslim relation.[202]

Communalism is a negative term, which signifies antagonism between different sects or religious denominations. Such phenomenon cannot be out and out ruled out in a country like India where so many sects do exist, notwithstanding the philosophical exhortations of countless savants. So, the communal outburst in India can be explained in normal and light sense without hair-splitting tendency. Snyder observes communalism as the sense of community among ethnic or linguistic groups—"often it is used as a synonym for tribalism". "It also devotes a system of government in which communes or local communities have authority inside a federal state".[203] In case of Hindus, none of these tests is tenable.

It is true that the anti-cow slaughter movement launched by the Arya Samaj in 1883 created some Hindu-Muslim clashes. But why to blame the Hindus unilaterally? On such an issue the question of national mainstream and culture constitute the headline for reference. Tolerance is not tantamount to assume compromise on ethos. It is the responsibility of the minority to see that the age-old values and traditions of the land are not vitiated while the majority community is duty-bound to protect the former. One rightly observes, "On the basis of Hindu ethos and also on the basis of pre-independence and post-independence approach to national problems, it can safely be said that if we stop singling out the Hindus of the charge of communalism, we shall get a sound, secular social set up in our country".[204]

However, there is no scope here to analyse threadbare the communal frenzy and all that were witnessed in modern days. But it can be appraised that while the Hindu nationalists clamoured for Hindu consolidation, they did not create any communal divide or hatred. Contemporary Hindu organisations make it clear that they emulate the great tradition rolled by the savants. Following Ramakrishna, who held that those who are born and brought up in this land are our own men—our brothers[205], RSS chief Rajendra Singh states that the Hindu way is to respect people who want to preserve their own religion on the basis of equality.[206]

Day in and day out it is alleged that the RSS by its action, is trying to convert Hindus into a community—that it is endangering a spirit of communalism, etc. "But the only deity which is worshipped by the RSS and whose worship it preaches assiduously is the motherland".[207] Dr. Zakir Hussain, former President of India, told a Milad Mohfil that "the allegation against RSS of violence and hatred against Muslims are wholly false. Muslims should learn the lesson of mutual love, co-operation and organisation from RSS".[208]

Communal harmony is a matter of understanding. One community cannot be singled out to perform it when there is no reciprocity from the other side, nor the tolerance of one community can be exploited by the other perceiving it as a matter of weakness. All shall have to behave responsibly keeping the national genius at high esteem. The Hindu nationalists have suggested different ways and means at different time to achieve social harmony. As a matter of quintessence, Annie Besant suggested at the Debating Club of Banaras Hindu College that "during the plastic years of boyhood it is best to mould and share the character after its own type, to make a Muslim boy a good Muslim, the Hindu boy a good Hindu". She evoked unity of all irrespective of religion.[209] It is foregone conclusion that a good Hindu or good Muslim does not indulge in communal acrobatic.

Further, certain issues are veritably national, but those are branded as communal—such as the issue of Kashmir, Ram Janmabhoomi, foreign national, uniform civil code, etc. Since these are spearheaded by RSS-VHP-

BJP family from time to time in recent past, rest of the political conglomerate smell communal dust and find excuse to slander as political agenda. It is the compulsion of electoral politics which makes them constraint to visualise the spectre of communalism and put the card.[210]

(III) NOT FASCIST

This explanation is equally necessary in view of wide-spread disinformation campaign. It is because, first consolidation of the society on religio-cultural basis is often interpreted in term of fascism keeping inter-war scenario of Germany and Italy in view. The fascists resorted mass uprising to prevail their ideas under the contrivance of the established totalitarian regime. Hitler claimed racial supremacy, and persecuted the Jews. Simultaneously he clamoured for nationalism deriving inspiration from Hegelian Idealism and exalted the state.[211] He sought consolidation of the Germans under Nazi hegemony. So, the critics off and on value the very nationalistic phenomenon all over the world in Fascist standard. Thus, they visualise Hindu consolidation in India as tantamount to Fascism.

H.C.E. Zacharia called Tilak a Hindu fascist. He charged him of blind hatred and prejudices; and called Dayananda a militant nationalist.[212] No biographer or historian of academic acceptance has ever substantiated this perception. It is true that they put forth their cause forcefully, and expressed hatred against injustice. But using pejorative words like fascism and militancy does not make any sense.

In defence, it can be argued that Tilak had high appreciation for the will of the people—the corner-stone of democracy. He had established one Congress Democratic Party in 1919. Dayananda subscribed to the cult of Vedic Swaraj, where he erected a network of government in the line of Manu, which 's prone to centralisation and decentralisation.[213] Accoroing to him, no single individual should be invested with absolute power.[214] Further, the Nationalist Party (of the Congress Extremists) stood for democracy, constitutionalism and progress as declared by Aurobindo.[215]

On the plank of fascism, the critics further club the Hindu nationalists, as pro-British, which suffers from the fallacy of its own immaturity of analysis. Yet, certain points may be submitted to unfold the baseless slander. In his meeting with the Governor-General North Brooke in Calcutta in 1873, Dayanada fearlessly and normally stated: "I pray God's mercy to free this country from alien administration". North Brooke maintained unusual calm and wrote letter to the Secretary of State that "Swami Dayananda is a revolutionary saint. His political ideas are averse to us".[216]

Vivekananda contemplated national dependence as a curse. The nationalists launched uncompromising struggle against British imperialism; for which they were still holding the idea of dominion status for India within the British Empire, Aurobindo talked of "independence" in 1902, which was accepted by the Congress only in 1929.

Dedication of Savarkar, Malaviya beside others for the sake of liberation is unflinching; rather they are yet the vibrant source of inspiration for national resurgence. With this backdrop it is pre-posterous to think a Hindu organisation as supporter of imperialism. Their goddess is nothing but the Motherland. It is a matter of laughing stock in the way the critics draw conclusion—probably confusing pro-establishment stand of the clerical world of Europe throughout history. But the Hindu nationalists' insistence on universalistic nationalism, beside other dimensions, indicates that a powerful Hindu nation is a boon for universal peace and harmony.

However, weapon is sharpened more particularly against the RSS in this context. Ayodhya Singh's work against RSS is unfounded in logic a well as in practice. He submits, "Hedgewar wrote letter not to participate in the civil disobedience movement in the name of RSS".[217] "Hedgewar wanted to build an army".[218] "RSS did not have any participation in the national movement".[219] "RSS is an 'Ekchalakanuvarti' (supremacy of one leader) organisation".[220] "It is opposed to adult suffrage and lends support to corporate state".[221] Moreover, Shivlai orands RSS as Fascist and quotes Govind Sahay's "RSS . Hitler's Heirs".[222]

In clarification it can be stated that Dr. Hedgewar never wanted to build an army. But his organisation does impart physical training in military form and discipline. There is no harm in it: rather it is commendable.

Singh misinterprets Dr. Hedgewar's letter not to participate the civil disobedience movement. Dr. Hedgewar himself courted arrest as part of 'satyagraha', and was imprisoned during the said movement. The fact is that he did not like that the organisation as such should plunge in the movement since its field of activity was based on long-term project and he did not like to divert his single-minded devotion. India's immediate goal was to achieve independence, but its long-term plan needed to be harnessed with great effort; and that long-term plan was to consolidate the society.[223] Right since the days of Ram Mohan Roy, every thinker talked of purification and consolidation of the society; but nobody had accomplished it nor devised any formula. This point has been amply clarified in Volume II dealing with RSS.

Moreover, RSS people were not opposed to the independence struggle. They are fire-brand patriots. They are, after all, the product of Dayananda-Vivekananda-Aurobindo school. However, they joined the national movement in personal capacity just as they used to do many things including politics in similar way. Their participation in the Quit India Movement has also been mentioned earlier. However, they were critics of the Congress style of functioning, particularly in the area of minority policy. Subhas Chandra Bose and B.R. Ambedkar were also critics of Congress in pursuance of their reservations. RSS was never a friend of imperialism; but it is hard-core nationalist organisation with firm faith on humanity. As Hindu nationalist they were foe of British imperialism.

Again, 'Ekchalakanuvarti' is a peculiar innovation of RSS working methodology. It is not tantamount to dictatorship. Entire RSS working principle rests with mutual understanding, strong sense of discipline and fellow feeling. There is no question of imposition. Those who are really active and dedicated get varied assignments in natural course, and enjoy moral and social authority. There is no scope for power-exercise in RSS. No RSS man has ever complained of forced leadership. It is only the guess work of outsiders. Again, this kind of organisational edifice has hardly any relevance to the state organisation.

Next, Singh's casting aspersion on democratic credential of RSS is unfounded. It never endorsed anything contrary to adult franchise nor ever lent support to corporate state. All people irrespective of caste, creed, age, language and profession join the RSS. It seeks to build up accumulated power of the people. Hence Singh's charge is concocted. RSS puts emphasis on dignity of the individual, which is the corner-stone of democracy.[224]

Singh further laments charge on RSS of being anti-communist. The contention is right so much so that the communist party, to the RSS, bears the stigma of extra-territorial loyalty; and secondly, communism is incogenial to Indian way of life, particularly because of its materialist philosophy. Again, communism is opposed to nationalism; and Hindu nationalism is far away from them. Hence, it is not expected that communism would be liked by the Hindu nationalists. Again, it is preposterous to conclude that all anti-communists are fascists or pro-imperialists or so. The RSS is both anti-communist and anti-imperialist. Nanaji Deshmukh defends RSS that it rejects communism as unnatural and inhuman. RSS is anti-communist for Indian reason, he holds, and not for American or any other non-Indian reasons. "RSS is neither capitalist nor socialist, it is simply nationalist".[225]

Sitaram Yechuri, one Politbureau member of CPI(M) has contributed a booklet entitled "What is This Hindu Rashtra?", where he has used expressions like "Adolf Hitler, the Guruji's Guru", "Saffron Brigade's emulation of Hitler's method" etc.[226] This work is deficient of reference—it simply displays slogan-mongering fantasy of communist psyche. Communists have their own ifs and buts to nationalist problems. Marx ridiculed religion as opinion of the people. So, they think that nothing should materialise on the basis of religion. Secondly, they experienced their animosity with the Nazis during World War II. So, they take it for granted that whoever is opposed to them seems to raise the bogey of nationalism of Nazi breed.[227] The communist perception is that Indian nationalism represents the fight against capitalism and imperialism.[228] They do not comprehend beyond it.

Further, Singh simultaneously concludes that the industrial capitalists are no supporter of RSS[229] and that it is a matter of research if Dr. Hedgewar was influenced by Fascism or Nazism.[230] That means, the author himself is in dark. Dr. Hedgewar did spring from the Hindu nationalist school; where there is no scope for emulating Mussolini or Hitler. By 1925 when RSS was founded Mussolini had not shown his venomenous teeth, and Hitler had yet to occupy the centre-stage. It is one's cynicism which leads him to believe that everybody must have derived inspiration from some remote West—that one shall have to choose only among few alternatives provided by western think-tank.

During imposition of emergency for 'internal reason' (1975-77) the Communist Party of India and its allies ran from pillar to post propagating against 'fascist RSS', while simultaneously overtly supporting the ruling party who had sabotaged civil liberty and other democratic norms. These are subjects of separate scrutiny. One resolution of 'Akhil Bharatiya Karyakarini Mandal' of RSS, in April 1978, may be quoted, which read: "... their joining the struggle intensified the voice of liberty"[231] and their dedication was empirically phenomenal.

Hindu nationalism is not regimented like that of fascism. Aurobindo dubbed it. No Hindu nationalist appreciated the fascist cause. The fact is that the Nazis and the Fascists distorted the concept of nationalism in their countries and committed unscrupulous crimes in its name, made fascism a dirty word. Consequently, all opponents are often coloured as Fascist as a matter of scolding.

Sitaram Yechuri goes a step forward and laments Golwalkar, "the ideological founder of RSS, that he emulated Hitler". But there was no ideological shift of RSS with the change of "Sar Sanghchalak", and Golwalkar did nothing but to carry out the ideology of Dr. Hedgewar.[232] Formation of RSS in 1925 bears a distinct nationalist cause, and no RSS chief ever admired Hitler or Mussolini for that purpose.

Nanaji continues, "Ideologically fascism and the RSS are pole apart. The fascists believed in a totalitarian state—in the subservience of the individual to the state who was to be disciplined and kept under the state control. But the RSS believes that the state must take second place to the people and every action of the people who are supreme. Individual liberty and human dignity have been a part of the Hindu tradition since time immemorial which destroys human liberty and dignity is abhorrent to the RSS.[233]

"Whereas the nationalism of the Fascists and the Nazists was more chauvinistic and jingoistic than nationalism, the cultural nationalism of the RSS is quite in accord with Hindu philosophy and tradition. Fascism is enemy of democracy, but the tendency of RSS have reiterated many times that democracy was the best system of government that human society has been able to evolve so far".[234]

> "Fascist discipiine was a terrifying thing: and discipline of RSS, on the other hand, is purely spontaneous and voluntary".
> "Fascism checks upon the independent spirit, but the RSS encourages it. A fascist follower is not encouraged to think for himself; his creed was not to reason why, but to do and die; whereas the RSS members are free to think how best they can be of service to society".
> "Fascism did not believe in non-violence as the RSS does".
> "War was a creed with the fascists, which is not in case of RSS".
> "Fascism lived in propaganda. The theory of the Big Lie was invented by Hitler and his cohorts. The RSS on the other hand, shuns publicity".[235]

Fascism holds that action precedes thought; but the Hindu nationalists hold that 'thought' rules the roost— it is principally thought-oriented.

Golwalkar asked to reject totalitarianism under any garb. "It is not in consonance with Hindu ethos,"[236] he clarified.

As RSS chief, Prof. Rajendra Singh stated that they want to make Hindu society "assertive and active, but certainly not aggressive or militant".[237] However, one RSS theoretician put forth negatively that if discipline, organised centralism and organic collective consciousness means Fascism, the RSS is not ashamed to be called

Fascist.[238]

The BJS document declared: "Democracy, equality, national independence and world peace are inter-related concepts. But in the West these concepts have often clashed with one another, ...'Bharatiya Sanskriti' offers the philosophical substratum on the basis of which these concepts can be harmonised and cherished objectives realised".[239] The BJP, on the other hand, likes decentralisation of power.[240] As a believer of democracy, BJP vows to fight against all trends of fascism and authoritarianism.[241]

M.N. Roy, again, viewed Indian nationalism from the angle of the Fascists. He called fascism as insane, irrational and exaggerated form of nationalism. However, unfortunately, he equated the same with Indian nationalism. Yet, he conceded that "nationalism having been the source of inspiration of modern Indian culture and the impetus for all social action it requires a critical examination".[242]

Again, the spectre of fascism haunts the critics more probably because of the experience of the Islamic countries. Democracy never had a chance in Islamic countries. In some of them it was quickly replaced by military dictatorship, in others by Islamic 'Shariat' in the name of "controlled democracy".[243]

In summary, Hindu nationalism has nothing common with Fascism on following counts—

(a) The Hindu nationalists are not chauvinists nor jingoists.

(b) They are not totalitarians in their very temperament and philosophical content. They are avowed democrats, and put emphasis on civil liberty, reliance on mass, and dignity of the individual.

(c) They are votaries of world peace and averse to war.

(d) They hold universalistic nationalism which dispels regimented nationalism.

(e) They do not promote personality-cult nor hasten to promote hero worship.

(f) While being proud of their race, culture and nation, the Hindu nationalists do not denigrate others. It is overwhelmingly inclusive and assimilative.

(g) Tolerance and catholicity are potential Hindu tradition, which is absent in fascist system.

(h) Unlike the fascists, the Hindu nationalists are not absolutists, but accommodative.

(i) The Hindu nationalists do not believe in supremacy of the state, but on society; and lend support on rule of 'Dharma' i.e., rule of law, of righteousness diffused in the whole society.

(j) They are not tempted to impose their systems on dissenting voice, which is alien to fascism.

(IV) NOT ANARCHIST NOR ABSOLUTIST

It has already been discussed that different dimensions of national life are often studied, compared and contrasted in reference to the western standard. From this angle, some authors discern Hindu nationalists as anarchists, whereas some visualise as absolutists. But, in fact, they are neither of the two.

Anarchism developed in nineteenth century Europe in the writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin and Tolstoy. They considered the state as evil, and sought to free the individual from its scourge.[244]

Dennis Dalton, one author, ventures to present Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Gandhi as anarchists in an article contributed in "Tradition and Politics in South

Asia" edited by R.J. Moore.[245] But that is also not at all apt. There might be some amount of synonymity, but to club them under the title anarchism does not sound well since they did not carry the typical signification and corollaries of anarchism. Gandhi was called a philosophical anarchist since he wanted to scrap the state boundary as well as the state authority. This theory of 'sarvodaya'[246] may be termed philosophical anarchism which is not traceable in Europe. Similarly, Vivekananda and Aurobindo felt that philosophically the individual is supreme over himself. They sought spiritual emancipation of the individual and hence emphasis on individual liberty. But they did not disregard an organised life, as the anarchists would like to have. Rather they considered the nation as an important stop-gap to enter the phase of universalism. They established a bridge between the individual and the nation. Vivekananda considered Government as an element of a nation. But the anarchists abhored government as evil. Further, Vivekananda admired the democratic spirit of America and Europe.[247]

After all, the very consideration by the Indians are somewhat different from the nation-state in traditional sense insofar as its origin and development are concerned. So, when the background and the implication of a phenomenon are considerably distinct, it would not be wise to confuse or compare them. Anarchism was inspired with Marxist goal and violent means. Indian stand is different.

Nor do the Hindu nationalists are absolutists. They do not consider the state as a leviathan type of organisation over the individual. Rather, to them, the society is supreme, and the state is subordinate to it. They mean minimum state interference and maximum individual freedom. The Hindu nationalists, inspite of world of differences from the Europeans, find parity of views in this regard.[248] Dennis Dalton himself concedes that unlike western anarchists the Indians based their view of man's perfectibility upon spiritual nature. They began from the basic Hindu doctrine that man is part of the infinite.[249]

In toto, the Hindu nationalists strike a balance between the individual, state and society; and the typical signification of these terms must not be literally construed with those of the Europeans and termed anarchists or absolutists.

(V) NOT RIGHTIST NOR REACTIONARY

Some people are instinctively conservative and prefer to leave things as they are, while some others are instinctively progressive and want to make changes on existing things. These inborn temperamental differences incline an individual towards one party or another. These two natural, psychological leaning may shape a political party as rightist or leftist respectively. These norms take their origin from the continental countries where the progressive members sit on the left side of the Presiding Officer, and the pro-establishment on the right—this custom dates far back to the French National Assembly of 1789.[250] The Socialists and the Communists used these terms more particularly to distinguish themselves from the rest.

So, it is to be seen if the term rightist is at all applicable to the Hindu nationalists. Not to cite a single paradigm, but by and large the western-fed intellectuals smell rightists tinge in Hindu nationalism and whatever it implies. But Hindu nationalism is dynamic. It expects changes notwithstanding its adherence to the age-old values. Certain elements of leftism is there—so also rightism. Indian culture does not reject any school outright.

Right since the period of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Hindu nationalists have been concentrating on social reform—reform of the prevailing society sunk into prejudice and pernicious customs. They also aspired political changes and waged war against British imperialism. So far as economic aspect is concerned, they have been pursuing for 'Swadeshi' economy. They have been seeking change in educational pattern too, though they make bid to replace imported copy-book maxims not congenial to Indian set up. At the same time, they would like to preserve the age-old tradition. "Ancient yet ever new" is the Hindu cosmic view. The British people are also tradition-bound, yet they are progressive. Montesquieu, an author behind the French Revolution, was a conservative, yet a progressive.[251] It is the tradition which binds the society *vis-a-vis* past and present. That is why Indian civilisation is alive today, though its much junior civilisations like Egyptian, Roman and Babylonian have sunk into oblivion.

The Hindu nationalists clamour for preservation of the valuable old things—not every old things. As Dayananda replied, only a fool can disown a piece of gold. Change is the law of nature. The Hindu nationalists do accept this, and there is no scope to brand it rightist. Tilak was orthodox; but in no way it affected his mission to be advanced.[252] He deemed it his religious duty to work in all directions of public usefulness.[253] 'Kesari' edited by Tilak reflected that Hinduism must be interpreted in the light of materialism as was done in the case of Christianity.[254] In this book 'Equality', Bankim called it the means to eliminate all social evils including the foreign economic exploitation, the poverty of the peasantry and the oppression of women.[255]

Similar is the case with the term 'reactionary'. To each action there is reaction. But this particular word devised for those who were opposed to progressives—those who used to react when the question of change cropped up. It was particularly used by the socialists and the communists as missile against the opponents. It has also relevance with the Hindu nationalists since they would like to accomplish change. They criticise the materialistic civilisation. It does address that they completely ignore material aspect. They only profess integrated life. Blind belief in either side is ridiculous and leads to dogma. It is irony of history that the same communists were condemned in the land of Soviet Union in late eighties as rank reactionary. Hence, those who are so-called leftists some day become rightists some other day, and turn into reactionary later on. The stamp here is corresponding to changing pattern of attitude.

K.R. Malkani comments, "I suppose we all act in, and react to situations. Nobody has monopoly of acting or reacting".[256] On terms like 'reactionary', 'ultra-rightist' etc. Deendayal remarks that "these are all suits of western pattern of thinking[257], and, they have no relevance to India. In defence of RSS, Golwalkar's stand is that, "were the Sangh re-establishing prejudices, superstitions and anti-social customs it could have termed reactionary, but not when safeguarding the eternal values of humanity".[258]

Progressiveness is ambivalently made synonymous with materialist civilisation. The Hindu nationalists being critics of the same get reduced to the position of reactionary. Of course, they condemn imperialist pattern of education, precisely, the Macauley system of education of India; but accept the advance of West in the area of physics, medicine and other disciplines of natural science. Rather they were instrumental in opening educational institutions which imparted training on these subjects. No sectarian or regimented boundary was erected by them in the area of knowledge. While Lala Lajpat Rai condemned western materialism, he sought the benefits of the European Welfare state.[259]

It would be meaningful to put forth the economic policy of erstwhile Jana Sangh as a matter of instance, which was widely rebuked as right reactionary by the so-called leftists and progressive parties. The BJS document reads: "...But to west ownership and control of all means of production in the state would lead to the centralisation of economic as well as political power......It must, however, be admitted that to set the process of economic development moving, to keep the economy on even keel and for the attainment of the nation's basic objectives the state must undertake in general to plan, direct and regulate economic effort and in certain specific areas and circumstances to accept the responsibility of ownership and management". It said that for want of 'Artha' (material aspect), 'Dharma' suffers, while with its affluence 'Dharma' may also suffer.[260] There can be no spiritual salvation without material prosperity. It is necessary, therefore, that we strive for strength, and material happiness, so that we may build up material health and contribute to the progress of the world, instead of being a burden on it".[261] The distinctive aim of Catholic Hinduism, however, was to co-ordinate the material as well as the spiritual interests of men instead of these at the expense of the others.[262] The focal point of all BJS's policies and programmes had been the 'daridra' (poor) in whom it has seen manifestation of 'Naraina' (divinity).[263]

The BJS further maintained that "right to property is subject to social sanction. The capitalist system of economy which accepts the 'economic man' as the central point of all its activities is inadequate. The selfish desire to acquire more and more is the motivating force in this system, with competition as its regulator. This does not conform to the Bharatiya philosophy....Socialism originated in reaction to the problems created by capitalism. Its objectives are commendable, but in its end it has failed to profit mankind".[264] In its first election manifesto, the party demanded for abolition of 'zamidari' (landlordism) system; for which the party had even to face split in the legislature of Rajasthan.

The party further felt that merit of the political parties in India "are being judged and inspired by western ideologies". "They cannot fulfil the aspirations of Bharat", it felt, and maintained that "integral humanism must necessarily make a balanced appraisal of both Bharatiya as well as western ideologies".[265]

The BJP undertook 'antodaya' programmes, i.e., a welfare scheme for the poorest of the poor, while in power.[266]

Under this kind of agenda and inclination BJS/ BJP can hardly be discerned as a rightist or reactionary political party. Similar is the case with the entire concept of Hindu nationalist organisations. There is no scope to brain-throb into minute details on the same. It has already been observed in Volume II the statement of L.K. Advani that there are two parts of leftism; and his party is leftist so far as equality and progress are concerned. Leftism is not the exclusive parameter of progress after all.

Golwalkar's statement goes a long way to conclude the ongoing polemic. That "revival of old prejudices, superstitions or anti-social customs may be called reactionary, as that would result in fussilisation of society. But rejuvenation of eternal and ennobling values of life can never be reactionary merely because it is old only betrays intellectual bankruptcy. By the term 'rejuvenation' of our culture we mean the reanimating in our lives of these eternal life ideals that have nourished and immortalised life all these millenia".[267] Writers of RSS school argue that the desired sense of community will be impossible unless class differences are reduced. They maintain that wide disparities in income are divisive and prevent the full development of a sense of community.[268]

(VI) NOT OBSCURANTIST NOR FUNDAMENTALIST

Signification of a term must be understood at the outset when it is used. An obscurantist is one who does not see reason and does not resort to the reform and inquiry, rather lends on blind belief and tends to medievalism as opposed to modernism. The Hindu nationalists have nothing to do with it. They have always strove against prejudice and biogotry. It is true that Hindu society suffers a great deal of prejudices and ignominies for "thousand years of alien rule" and desperately engaged in sustained battle for self-preservation. It was probably during the period of religious conflict that they internalised the load of pernicious practices like 'purdah', untouchability, etc., which turned into shackles for advancement. However, the Hindu nationalists left no stone unturned to be absolved from them.[269]

Raja Ram Mohan Röy laid stress on critical reasoning. Right from his days down to Dayananda and later, the Hindu nationalists consistently put emphasis on modern education, which include, among other, stream of science and all modern disciplines, may it be western or anything else. They always consider knowledge as common property.[270] Upanishad proclaims : "A na bhadra, krutabo yantu vishvata"; which means, let noble thoughts come from all sides.[271]

In matters of social reform, Dayananda was more radical than even many English educated Indians.[272] His programme was pragmatic. He insisted on the superiority of practice over belief and devotion.[273] Beside other issues, he also talked of marriage reform.[274]

Similarly, Tilak stood for the application of rationality, and scientific, logical reasoning to the political and economic spheres.[275] However, he did not like to anglicise the institutions and so denationalise them in the name of social and political reforms.[276] He deemed it his religious duty to work in all directions of public usefulness.[277] He was prepared to include the western values in Indian culture, and if necessary, revolution.[278] He stated that a proper knowledge of the old traditions and philosophies must be imparted to the newly educated classes, and the 'Pandits' and 'Shastris' must be given proper information about the newly changed and changing circumstances.[279]

Bankim Chandra opposed the orthodox religion.[280]

Further, he expressed that western thought and technology could be utilised within an essentially Hindu frame.[281] There is nothing wrong to aspire so while appreciating others. The concept of Hindu nationalism keeps the door open to welfare any new system or thought in the world without affecting the basic character of Hindu nation.[282] The aim of the Hindu nationalists was to present the ancient culture of India in its modern form of politics.[283] Aurobindo had no objection to Indians accepting what was best in the culture of the West provided they did so as men proud of their history and tradition, and not as denationalised people who sought to westernise themselves completely.[284] Lajpat Rai was not against modern ideas. He constantly urged the Indians to learn from the West, and said that the basis of their national weakness was that they were too much dominated by other-wordly attitude towards life.[285]

Vivekananda's one of important missions of life was to unify science and religion. Religion must have scientific value, he held, which means it must conform systematic knowledge and must beset unflinchable truth. He was against fanaticism and all wickedness of human weakness. He was critical of superstition.[286] He admired the Americans for their vitality and for the scientific and technical progress they had achieved.[287] He rebuked a preacher engaged in cow-protection programme while the latter expressed his helpless to serve the famine-struck people.[288] Madan Mohan Malviya also attached importance to the economic development of the country for which he combined teaching of science and technology with that of religion.[289]

Savarkar repeatedly cautioned against some Hindu superstition and social customs like ban on 'Suddhi' (reconversion), widow marriage etc. as suicidal.[290]

B.D. Graham levels a mild charge, but that too in western standard. He feels that Hindu nationalism began a restricted intellectual base.[291] His consideration of intellectual base is not judged from Indian standpoint. The intellectual base of India was, to the contrary, far wider, and the Hindu nationalists tried to explore them. Tilak in his time showed that originality and scholarship were not the monopoly of the West[292]—so also others illustrated it.

In defence of RSS, D.N. Mishra observes, "What is modernity? The spirit of experimentation, the capacity to be able to look into the future dispassionately and at the distortions of the past, in other words, to see oneself in a historical perspective; to appreciate the significance of men as complete human units.[293] Again, in reference to the same, Nanaji Deshmukh writes that it is not obscurantist since it believes in inquiry and reform of the society.[294] Empirical data suggests that every RSS office contains library which includes books relating to national uprising, Indian culture and philosophy, and works of great thinkers. They conduct 'bauddhik varga' (intellectual class) and 'churccha' (deliberation). The members are not camp followers in the realm of intellect.

The Jana Sangh document deplored 'purdah', dowry, child marriage and ill-matched marriage and advocated reformist programmes.[295] The party spoke of the revival of Bharatiya culture and revitalisation of the true Bharatiya nationalism. But it emphasised that Bharatiya culture should be revived with such adjustments as may be necessary to make India modern, progressive and strong".[296] The party declared thus: "We are heirs to the wisdom of all humanity, and must profit by the experience of entire mankind. Certainly science is not the monopoly of any nation. We shall avail of it for our advancement too".[297] Deendayal replied to the charge of obscurantism and the question of reform in offensive manner. He says that anybody who is not proud of being a Hindu, has no moral right to say that reforms are necessary in Hindu religion and society.[298]

Following the footsteps of BJS, BJP document's declaration reads that it would wage a relentless war against superstition, and not ban any publication without a prior judicial review.[299] BJP General Secretary K.N. Govindacharya stated his party's resolve against superstition, outward religious rituals and customs; and is in favour of globalisation and cosmopolitanism.[300] As for instance, BJP strongly deplored the attitude of Jagatguru Nischalananda of Puri for objecting to women chanting Vedic verses. Party spokesperson Sushma Swaraj reacted that "anything attributed to scriptures or any practice which denigrates the position of Indian women deserves outright rejection".[301]

The Bharat Vikash Parishad, an RSS outfit, proclaims never to have disowned modernism but believing in dynamism and not blind imitation.[302] The Hindu nationalists take exception to what the critics call modern West.

Another authority on Hindu nationalism observes, "It has been our tradition to adjust our socio-economic order according to changing challenges of the times... any institution we can adopt if we find it necessary... There is nothing which prevents us from adjusting our society with a view to coping our society with the problems raised by the present situation".[303] Hindu scripture reads: "Tad eva isvara pujanam": which means, we worship the creator by working for a new creation, a new society.[304] What better transparency may be expected?...

Like obscurantism fundamentalism is also deplorable. The term fundamentalism is derived from a group of American Protestant dissenters who called themselves fundamentalists in 1920's while laying certain orthodox principles against the Liberals and Moderates.[305] Of course, it earned pejorative signification by 1979 when Ayatolla Khomenie launched a religious revolution in Iran. It meant to cultivate blind belief and die-harness. When one religious denomination spurns history and science and presses its view to shape public opinion in an organised form and hold national power then the driving force is known as fundamentalist.[306] This is obviously antithesis of Hindu thought. It provides ample scope for intellectual liberty. It is not ritualistic nor dogmatic nor unscientific in its philosophical and sociological outlook. The Hindu nationalists never asked to exterminate the opponents. Unlike the fundamentalists, they are not intolerant. However, any isolated act cannot be cited for the sake of argument. Again, whenever any particular misdeed is committed it has been subject to wide-spread condemnation. But by and large, no well-known Hindu organisation nor any protagonist of Hindu nationalism has engaged in any act repugnant to humanism, morale and reson. To the contrary, the critics seem to be more intolrent and unpalatable.

Hindu approach is liberal as distinguished from fundamentalism, which is summed up in a famous attribute to Voltaire, which reads: "I disapprove of what you say, but I defend to the death your right to say to it".

(VII) NOT BRAHMINISTIC

Aspersion is being cast by certain section on Hindu nationalism as Brahministic. Gail Omvedt is one among those who paint with this colour.[307] The Hindu thinkers, the historical phases and different movements have branded after Brahminism or so. It is also unfortunate to name certain phases of history after caste. For instance, Lewy Guenter has described the period of 800-500 B.C. as Brahminic period.[308] Valentine Chirol lamented that the Swadeshi Movement and the national movement were organised scheme for recovery of Brahminical ascendancy. He added that Tilak was determined to establish a priestly aristocracy.[309] Another writes, "... Regarding Maharashtra the very sedition committee which traced the birth of the revolutionary movement there to be the desire of the Chitpavan Brahmins to regain their lost supremacy".[310] Sitaram Yechuri traces the birth of RSS to Maratha Brahmins following the line of Manusmriti.[311]

Things become profusely complicated by the authors who present the Hindu nationalist thinkers as Brahmins. Let certain references be recalled.

> "Dayananda, a Brahmins youth from Kathiabad", by J.T.F. Jordens.[312]
> "Tilak, Chitpavan Brahmin", by Parshottam Mehra[313] and M.N. Jha[314], beside others.
> "Damodar and Balkrishna, Maratha Brahmins", by Sankar Ghose.[315]
> "Basudev Balwant Phadke was a Chitpavan Brahmin", by A.C. Guha.[316]
> "Hedgewar, an Andhra Brahmin", by Sankar Ghose.[317]
> "Savarkar, a Chitpavan Brahmin", by Sankar Ghose[318] and Sir Lovet Verney[319], beside others.
> "Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, a Brahmin...", by Bidyut Chakraborty.[320]

These references constitute the tips of iceberg. While the authors have right to interpret different aspects, they merely betray self-deception. There is no reply to those who are sworn adversaries of Hindu cause, and fail to identify any virtue in Hindu society. It is true that many a thinker and leader of the days of renaissance were Brahmins, which was just incidental. But it does not justify the charge. Rather, born in Brahmin families their measure was for the weaker section of the society.

There is another elusive factor behind this kind of slander, i.e., to draw attention on caste system in reference to 'Varnashrama'. But Manusmriti espoused a higher creed of socio-economic dynamics practised during 'Satya Yug', i.e., the Age of Truth, the earliest civilisational epoch. Plato's classification of men into Gold, Brass and Silver run in the same stream. It had its own merit, and the caste system and untouchability were mere aberration. It is being spurned by the Hindu nationalists in unequivocal term in every age.

Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi were admirers of 'varnashrama' from the angle that it served a good purpose for a time. To Vivekananda, it was social rule which was made in order to protect the weak.[321] He was of the view that nature classifies human beings into groups or castes on the basis of predominance of 'gunas' in the individual.[322] Mahatma Gandhi felt that 'varnashrama' was misapplied in later days. He regretted that "this great law has been degraded and has fallen into disrepute .... By constant striving we have to enrich the inheritance left to us. This law determines the duties of man. Right follows from a due performance of duties. It is fashion now-a-days to ignore duties and assert or rather usurp rights". He again continued, "Varnashrama of the 'Shastra' (Scripture) is today non-existent in practice. The present caste system is the very antithesis of 'varnashrama'. In 'varnashrama' there was and should be no prohibition of inter-marriage or inter-dining. Of course, there can be no compulsion. It will be left to unfettered choice of the individual as to where he or she will marry or dine".[323]

Caste was not an important factor in Hindu tradition. It is deducible from the fact that Rishya Shringa, Vishwamitra and Agastya were great sages. Though they were born in 'Shudra' families, they could be elevated by virtue of their intellect.[324]

Former RSS chief Deoras clearly stated that 'varnashrama' has been obsolete.[325] He stated that removal of untouchability would remove a stumbling block in the way of Hindu consolidation.[326] He put more emphasis on social equality. He again holds that fissiparous tendencies like caste and sub-caste rivalries and untouchability have all been manifestation of the social inequality.[327] He quoted Abraham Lincoln who had expressed that if slavery is no wrong nothing in the world is wrong. Following this he stated if untouchability is not wrong, nothing in the world is wrong.[328] Further, appreciation of 'varnashrama' by Golwalkar was clarified by himself in an interview that he did not mean by it the obnoxious caste system of the present day.[329] In his Vijaya Dashmi address at Nagpur in 1993 Deoras deplored 'varnashrama' and untouchability, and he urged to erase it by means of continuous 'sanskara'.[330]

In conventional Hindu practice 'dharma' is that set of obligations observed by the 'jati' (sub-caste) into which a person is born. But the RSS writers reject this notion and propose that 'dharma' is something which must be discovered by each person individually.[331]

The Hindu view is the
"Jagannath ka bhat
Mat puchho jat pat".

It means, this rice belongs to Jagannath (of Puri), where there is no distinction between caste and creed.[332]

S.R. Singh in his work "Nationalism and Social Reform in India" maintains that all schools of Hindu 'revivalism' were in favour of social reform.[333] All of them conceded the fact that untouchability was an ignominy of Hindu society, and it should be obliterated. Different thinkers and organisations were wedded to the same cause.

Himself a Brahmin, Dayananda did not stand for Brahminism, but for Hinduism in wider perspective. He pulled down the walls of Brahminic superiority, consequently heralding a social revolution.[334] He protested against a narrow interpretation of caste.[335] Dayananda and Vivekananda denounced the existing system of caste in no uncertain terms.[336] Ramakrishna asked: "Oh Mother (Kali), make me the servant of the 'pariah' (the so-called untouchable)". Inspired by his master Ramakrishna, Vivekananda searched for Shiva in 'Jiva'—God in man.[337] In his word, "so long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor, who having been educated at their expense pays not the least heed to them".[338]

Madan Mohan Malaviya felt strongly the injustice done to the depressed classes in connection with temple entry and pleaded their cause before the 'pandits' (scholar-priests) in 1936, and took out a procession in favour of temple entry.[339]

Valentine Chirol's charge on Tilak is baseless from the fact that he (Tilak) had written in March 1918, "If a God were to tolerate untouchability, I would not recognise him as God at all".[340] M.A. Buch defends Tilak thus: "It is idle to say that he was a Brahmin, a chitpavan Brahmin... and as such he strove to revive the dominance of his own people".[341]

As a matter of argument with Chirol, a statistic may be put forward here, that the Brahmins were not dominant in the revolutionary phase (1907-17) of the anti-colonial movement. That 87 persons belonging to Kayasth caste were convicted or killed against 65 belonging to Brahmins.[342] However, this kind of hair-splitting analysis is misleading.

The Hindu Mahasabha also deplored untouchability. Lajpat Rai, in his Presidential address in Calcutta on 11 April 1925, laid emphasis on upliftment of depressed classes and removal of untouchability.[343] V.D. Savarkar, in his Presidential address at Madurai on 28 December 1940, called upon to erase untouchability.[344]

RSS attempt in the direction of social assimilation is unique. It does not harp on one's caste at all and brings about a hearty fraternity in practice. Mahatma Gandhi was amazed to see in a Wardha RSS camp in 1934 that volunteers belonging to different castes were taking launch together and they were unaware of one another's caste. The very ignorance of their castes is the secret of success in the direction.[345] When Dr. Hedgewar met Jamnalal Bajaj at Nagpur in 1934, he clearly told him that the Sangh totally disapproves of the practice of untouchability.[346] Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was invited at the Makar Sankranti festival of RSS at Poona in 1939, where Dr. Hedgewar was also present. The former asked the latter regarding the castes of the volunteers. He replied that they were Brahmins when they used to preach the ideology of the organisation, Kshatriya when defending themselves, Vaishya when they were engaged in the calculation of their affairs, and Shudra when they were helping their sanitation.[347] RSS sponsored one "Samajik Samarasata Manch" to accelerate the said activities in a more concerted form, which was led by D.B. Thengadi.[348] 'The Akhil Bharatiya Prathinidhi Sabha' of RSS sought in March 1994 to expedite the social integration.[349]

In the Vishva Hindu Parishad conclave in 1979 at Prayag, religious leaders of the Shaivites, Vaishnavites, Arya Samajists, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Lingayats and every other sect and mission present unanimously adopted a resolution banishing untouchability.[350] One special 'Dharma Sansad' (Religious Parliament) in 1994, sponsored by (then banned) VHP, called upon eradication of social untouchability and evils.[351] It wanted that disabilities for historical reasons should be uplifted.[352] It is evident that one backward caste man Kameswar Chaupal laid down the foundation of Ram Janmabhoomi Temple in 1989.[353]

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh had organised one Harijan conference in December 1968.[354] The party worked spectacularly for the Harijan welfare when it was holding power in Delhi Metropolitan Council in 1967. So also it worked for rural development, co-operative movement and agricultural development.[355]

The Bharatiya Janata Party in its National Council convention held at Bangalore on 18-20 June 1993 pledged to fulfil and complete the unfinished agenda of social renaissance. Its social policy has been influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, the integral humanism of Deendayal

Upadhyay and the social thought of B.R. Ambedkar. It denounced the disinformation campaign that if BJP comes to power the 'Manusmriti' will condition the governance of the country. They partly condemns unequivocally the practice of untouchability, which it says is not only against the law but runs counter to the concept of integral humanism which forms the bed-rock of the party's social and political ideology.[356] The party manifesto further declared, "... there is no room for discrimination against anybody on grounds of caste, creed, language or region. It is the duty of the state to ensure justice for all citizens and for all sections of society".[357] The BJP demanded implementation of Mandal Commission report which strove reservation of seats in employment for backward communities.[358] Suraj Bhan, as the Vice-President of Scheduled Caste Forum of BJP said, "We are integral part of Hindu society; and the BJP repudiates untouchability in no uncertain terms and pledges to improve the socio-economic status of scheduled castes and tribes; for which purpose a separate cell was created in 1980".[359] It had 3 Dalit Ministers out of 8 in the Council of Ministers in the Union during 1977-80. BJP had 200 Dalit legislators out of 800 throughout the country in 1995.[360] Atal Bihari Vajpayee submitted a detailed statistic on BJP's superior support base among the Dalits in term of number in the eleventh Lok Sabha.[361] What more?

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3

POSITIVE FACTORS

Certain corollaries of Hindu nationalism were pondered over by and by. However, the deliberation was in the form of making clarification of the misgivings. It would be of fitness of things to enter the phase of certain positive factors on which the Hindu nationalists lean overwhelmingly. This would considerably highlight multiple dimensions of Hindu nationalism in critical, comparative and positive mode.

(I) CHAMPIONING INDIA'S GLORIOUS PAST AND HIGHLIGHTING HER GREATNESS

Jawaharlal Nehru eloquently wrote, "The past is ever with us, and all that we have come from the past. We are its products and we live immersed in it". He further observed, "We have been an exclusive people, proud of our past and of an heritage and trying to build walls and barriers to presume this".[1] It is characteristic for the nationalists to recall the glorious past. Even Stalin encouraged his soldiers during World War II reminding the chivalrous deeds of their ancestors, the Czars. Winston Churchill rightly said, "He who can see longest into a country's past can see farthest into its future". The Hindu nationalists thought of the society and laid stress upon the great moments of India's past and its wonderful philosophical, literary, artistic and cultural achievements.[2] However, a point must be clarified that while glorifying the past, the Hindu nationalists do talk of "greatness of past" and do not hold "great past". To them, greatness they visualise reflects that Hindu culture is sublime which unleashed definite contribution to mankind, and it has potentiality to do so at present and future. It is not meant to invoke racial arrogance, but appraises to erase the psychology of inferiority complex cropped up in thousand years, and search its path afresh. Vivekananda clearly stated that a nation cannot rise without having a feeling of its glorious past. To him, past builds the future. He declared that he was proud of its glorious past. To him, past builds the future. He declared that he was proud of his ancestors, and not ashamed of it. There is an organic link of the past and the present. If the past is not rich, there is no scope of the present.[3] Bankim Chandra constructed an in-built historical chain of India's past, present and future with living description of India's images as Jagaddhatri, Kali and Durga corresponding three epochs.

The Vedas which epitomise the highest of Indian culture were written when western countries were beyond the pale of civilisation.[4] To Bankim Chandra, Hinduism is the greatest of all religions.[5] Hinduism was originally known as 'Sanatana Dharma', which meant "The Eternal Law".[6] Mahatma Gandhi evoked: "Hindu Dharma is like a boundless ocean teeming with priceless gems. The deeper you dive, the more you find".[7]

In fact, Hindus alone have survived the test of time in comparison to the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and others.[8] Prof. Heeren's 'Historical Researches' reveal: "India is the sources from which not only the rest of Asia but the whole western world derive knowledge and their religion".[9] H.R. Hall of the British Museum reveals: "India must have been one of the earliest centres of the human civilisation".[10] Manu's assertion was that people from all over the world should mould their character after the great men born and brought up in this land.[11] Kautilya's Arthashastra further laid claim on the old doctrine that "Never shall an Arya be subjected to slavery".

To Vivekananda, "If there is any land on the earth that can lay claim to be blessed 'Poonya bhoomi' (sacred land), to be the land to which every soul that is wandering its way Godward must come to attain its lost home, it is Bharat".[12] This is verily the chosen land of God realisation", Golwalker succinctly said.[13] Aurobindo clamoured, "Ours is the eternal land, the eternal Religion, whose strength, greatness, holiness, may be clouded but never even for a moment, utterly cease. The Hero, the Rishi, the Saint are the national fruits of our soil; and there has been no age which they have not been born".[14] The Vedic and Upanishadic age, he continued, in particular seemed mankind's first period of greatness,[15] and expected that India alone can save mankind.[16]

Balasaheb Deoras remarked, "The philosophy and values of life of this land have received the highest acclamation of thickness the world over as an invaluable contribution to peace and progress of humanity itself". He continued, "We naturally feel that their eternal life principles should be preserved".[17] He added, "Thinkers the world over concede that this society has established certain great and eternal values of life....If the Hindu society belonging in such specialities and eternal values of life and follow them with the spirit of social equality, then alone these specialities will live for ever and prove beneficial to the world at large also".[18]

The Hindu nationalists take pride of the fact that before the birth of Christ, observes M.A. Buch, "India possessed a marvellous civilisation, a wonderful literature, a well-organised social system, a conception of Government based on the legal rights of subjects 'inter sea' as against the ruling monarchs. The democratic institutions too were not unknown to India".[19]

The Hindu nationalists bank on India's rich past, since, to them, it is the only reservoire or asset on whose foundation they could like to build up a resurgent India. They are passionately inspired with it, and make account as to how India had reached its zenith in different areas of knowledge and practical life. The Upanishads, Puranas beside other scriptures constitute high water mark of philosophical and literacy achievements. They comprise every gamut of human life ranging from art to science. Mahabharata contains one lakh verses—the biggest epic ever composed in the world, comprising six hundred principal characters. Ramayana is a superb work manifesting human ideals and morale par excellence. "With this colourful background", Savarkar remarks in the concluding page of his 'Hindutva', "....We can build on this foundation of Hinduism a future greater than what any other people on earth can dream of, greater even of our past: provided we are able to utilise our opportunities".[20]

Swami Dayananda completely dwelt in the past. His clarion call was to go back to Vedas. He claimed that people of Egypt, Greece and the whole continent of Europe were without a trace of learning before the spread of knowledge from India, and he persuaded himself to believe that the most recent inventions of modern science such as steam engines and railways, were known, at least in their germ, to the poets of Vedas.[21]

Aurobindo put more emphasis on spiritual achievement. He believed that there is a mighty law of life, a great principle of evolution, a body of spiritual knowledge and experience of which India has always been destined to be guardian, exampler and missionary. "This is the Sanatana Dharma", he expressed.[22]

In the nineteenth century, Schopenhaur, the German philosopher, after studying a Latin translation of the Vedas, declared that the Vedas were "the fruit of the highest human knowledge and wisdom" and claimed that the Upanishads were the greatest discovery of the century". "In India", he predicted, "our religions will never take root....On the contrary Indian philosophy.... will produce a fundamental change in our knowledge and thought".[23]

Tilak felt that modern science "is gradually justifying and vindicating our ancient wisdom". In one of his speeches he said that, "the physical research societies in western countries, the researches of J.C. Bose and the ideas of Oliver Lodge were substantiating the fundamental ideas of Hinduism. Modern science accepts the doctrine of 'karma', if not of reincarnation....Vedanta and Yoga have been vindicated by modern science and these aim at giving you spiritual union".[24]

President S.D. Sharma was given an oval reception in Cambridge University by the Chancellor of Edinburg on 24th July, 1993 in the words: India, "Land of dream and romance—the country of a hundred tongues, of a thousand religions and two million gods, cradle of the human speech, mother of history, grand mother of legends, great grand mother of tradition, the land that all men desire to see,. and having seen once by even a glimpse, would not given that glimpse for the shows of all the rest of the globe combined".[25]

Will Durant, the philosopher and historian of America, observes, "India was the motherland of our race, and Sanskrit the mother of European language: she was the mother of our philosophy, mother through the Arabs; of much of our mathematics; mother through the Buddha; mother through the village community; of self-government and democracy. Mother India is in many ways mother of us all".[26]

Lord Morley comments on Edmund Burke, that he had "a seasoned and philosophic veneration for old and settled order.... in the inviolable sanctity of Banaras, the holy city and the Garden of God".[27] Burke had high appreciation for the value of Indian culture and his followers shared his respect for Indian culture and institutions.[28]

Ram Jethmalani presents a beautiful sketch: "When we look at the not very distinct past of India just when the Upanishads were being composed what strikes us is her stupendous vitality, the inexhaustible power and joy of life, her almost unimaginably prolific creativeness. For thousands years she has been creating abundantly, incessantly and lavishly, with an inexhaustible many sidedness republics, kingdoms and empires, public works, communities and societies; systems of yoga, systems of politics, trades, industries and crafts. She expanded outside her borders. Her wealth and products crossed into Phoenicia, Egypt and Rome; her religions conquered China, Japan and in the west the words of the Upanishads and the sayings of Buddha re-echoed on the lives of Christ. All this was achieved because the soul of India was free and no infallible dogma had imprisoned it".[29]

There is no scope in the present work to delve into depth in every area of India's past. Yet certain phases may be mentioned. Kautilya's Arthashastra (Science of Polity) written in third century before Christ, is a testimony of it. It discusses the duties of the king, of his ministers, counsellors, of council meetings, of diplomacy, of departments of government, of towns and villages, of war and peace, of trade and commerce, of the government of towns and villages, of municipal government, law and law courts, of social customs, of the rights of women, of the maintenance of the old and helpless, of marriage and divorce, of taxation and revenue, of the army and navy, of agriculture, of spinning and weaving, of artisans, of passports and even prison".[30] In his book 'Labour Management', R.G. Rajwade has an appendix on "Shanti Neeti" written in the Gupta period. Shukra had laid down precise rules for the employee and the employer, spelling out details on the types of wages, period of payment, grades of employment, fair wages, industrial disputes, leave rules, sickness benefits, pension, provident funds and family allowances, bonus, etc. For example, Shukra recommends that an employee who has served for 40 years should be paid a pension equal to half his wages throughout his life. For bonus he recommends one-eighth of the employee's salary.[31] M.G. Bokare, former Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University, mentions that, in the world of history of economic thought, economics as a lexicon for the first time was used in ancient India; the first book on economics was written in ancient India; and the first definitions of economics were made by Shukracharya and Kautilya.[32]

Eminent historians like U.N. Ghosal and Political Scientists like C.P. Bhambri recall that there were republican form of government in ancient India at frequent intervals.[33] In the republican states, sovereignty was vested in the central executive, which worked under the general superintendence of republican parliament, where, however, only the aristocracies were usually represented (like the ancient Greek system).[34] The conditions for successful working of republican systems are mentioned in Mahabharata.[35] Prof. Beni Prasad maintains that sovereignty was really diffused throughout the community embodied in the form of law which had ultimate source in the Divine Will.[36]

So far as the democratic traditions are concerned, scholars like Aurobindo, Jayswal, Radhakumud and Radha Kamal maintain that republican institutions as well as institutions such as cabinet, local assembly, guild and others were prevalent in ancient India.[37] Some villages had tradition of self-government and in many places there were corporations. The Hindu political thinkers did not invest power as the theorists of Oriental Despotism have mentioned.[38]

U.N. Ghosal further proceeds, "The Hinuds belong to the category of peoples who left their impress upon the pages of history as the founder of original systems of political thought". "The foundation of the Hindu ideas of the state was laid at a time and in a region which ensured their indigenous origin".[39]

"The Hindu theories of the state bore the stamp of the creative genius of the Indo-Aryans and were coloured by their distinctive ideals and experiences". "Hindu political thought was found in both North and the South".[40] "The Rule of Law derived their origin from Divine Revelation embodied in the Vedas imposed upon the King a bundle of duties whose observance was enforced by the highest moral and spiritual sanction".[41]

Mehta and Srinivasan's analysis is that according to Manusmriti kinship is a divine institution existing for the well-being of the people.[42] Gonda shows that the ancient Indian conception of divinity was different from its western counterparts. Bodin's concept of 'majestics' in the Hindu concept of kingship is acceptable to many scholars. Hindu thinkers do admit the possibility of the despot being disobeyed and even abandoned by the people. K.M. Panikkar, B.K. Sarkar and others conclude that it was not the person of the king but his functions that were divine or that the monarch in Hindu thought is not divine in a theological sense and that the divine elements out of which the king is created only indicate his powers and authorities rather than his super human powers.[43] The king did not stand above the social order.

In the 'Chandogya Upanishad', the king is referred to as 'dhritavarta', i.e., the upholder of the sacred law, whose duty is to promote religion, encourage morality, and patronise education. He is also called 'Dharmapati', which anticipates 'dharma' being looked upon as the end of the state—a view that is generally accepted by scholars including, A.S. Alterkar, B.K. Sarkar, N.N. Law, K.P. Mukherjee, D.B. Bhandarkar and V.P. Verma.[44] They all draw attention to the fact that the promotion of the moral well-being of the people laid down as the duty of the king or the end of the state, their material well-being was not neglected. As pointed out by law, the ideal of the state as set forth in the epics and later in Sanskrit literature is the attainment of the 'sumom bonum'—'moksha' through 'dharma', 'artha' and 'kama'.[45]

Rig Veda provides scope for the People's Assemblies; and there was representation of all classes in the Assembly and the Council.[46] Even in monarchical days, Bhisma said to Yudhisthira to do all his acts in conjunction with his 'Purohita' (Priest), and "he alone must be appointed as the 'Purohita' who will help the king in protecting the righteous and putting off the unrighteous".[47] 'Shanti Parva' of the Mahabharata has considered all sections of politics, so also Ramayana, the 'Kurul', and 'Panchatantra' do contain references to political schemes.[48]

The fact that for nearly six to seven generations, Indian leaders and political thinkers derived inspiration from western thinkers such as Burke, Bentham, James and John Stuart Mill, Spencer, Mazzini, and Macauley and that they had no indigenous political tradition to look up. However, with the discovery of 'Artha Shastra' in 1909, the whole perspective has changed and it has been argued by scholars of the nationalist school led by Jayswal and Sarkar that just as the 'Artha Shastra' was discovered afresh, it is likely that other texts might have been written but were either destroyed or lost. Kautilya refers to four distinct Artha Shastra schools, and several teachers.[49] Max Muller had maintained that religion and philosophy formed the exclusive areas where the Indian mind found itself at liberty to act, to create and worship.[50] However, the discovery of Kautilya's work just after ten years of Max Muller's demise exploded the myth.

India, a country with longest span of history, was said to be the world-preceptor. Later on, Ashoka spread Buddhism in different parts of the world to disseminate culture. Gupta era was the Golden Era.[51] R.C. Dutt saw a golden age in "early Hindu and Buddhist India, and decay during the Muslim period".[52] Shustrey says in his work "Outlines of Islamic Cultures" that the Haj pilgrims while approaching the great Mosque at Mecca had to wear the 'dhoti' (loin cloth) and 'uttereya' (upper cloth). It is to be noted that a 'shiv ling' is there in Mecca. As regards the teachings of the Christian Missionaries like Plotinus, Clement, Gregory, Augustine and others, Dean Inge was obliged to declare: "It is the Brahmins (means Hindu) masquerading in the clothes borrowed from the Jews, Gnostic, Manichaon and Napoleonic allegories.[53] Diwan Chamanlal accumulated unassailable mass of evidence in his 'Hindu America' to show that the Hindus migrated to the American continent long before Columbus. The effort of Hindu culture is evident even to this day, especially in Mexico.[54] Ganesh statue and yarn were made available in an archaeological excavation in early seventies which lays evidence on advancement of Hindu culture beyond its border.

John Woodroffe further mentions that "Indian music which, like medicine, went from India to Europe and has also influenced both Chinese and Japanese music is now being studied by western writers who have found it worth of their research and is being encouraged by the All India Music Conference now (in 1919) in second year".[55]

C. Vijiaraghavachari, in Nagpur Congress held in 1920, addressed, "Hindus not only produced philosophy, religion and secular thought which have been the admiration and the consolidation of the world, but also it was the Hindus who invented the systems of decimal fractions, Algebra and the game of chess. The Hindu astronomer, Aryavatta, discovered the system and precision of equinoxes several centuries before Copernicus. The system of civil administration was perfected to a degree rarely reached in modern times. There was prevalence of welfare state and rule of law....Arab civilisation was brought into India much later, by the Muslim invaders".[56]

Indian philosophy has long been recognised in the western world as presenting original solutions for the problems of spirit and matter, and as exhibiting in the Vedanta a classical type of mysticism, which has attracted adherents far beyond the bounds of India.[57] Again, Hindu thought does not fall under any of the accepted categories of western speculation. It stands by itself.[58]

Vivekananda delivered a speech on "India's Gift to the World" in the United States, which goes thus: ".....The same holds good with respect to sciences. India has given to antiquity the earliest scientifical physicians, and according to Sir William Hunter, she has even contributed to modern medical sciences by the discovery of various chemicals and by teaching you how to reform mishapen ears and noses. Even more it has done in mathematics, for algebra, geometry, astronomy, and the triumph of modern science—mixed mathematics—were all invented in India, just so much as the numerical, the very cornerstone of all present civilisation, were discerned in India, and in reality, in Sanskrit words....". He continued narrating the same achievements in the realm of religion, philosophy, literature and what not.[59]

The Vishva Hindu Parishad has published one booklet entitled 'Hindu Contribution to the World of Science', which reveals a collection of remarks made by outstanding personalities and scientists who sensed the achievements of ancient Aryans in every discipline of science. Some important personalities included Sir William Hunter, Elphinstein, Prof. Weber, Mrs. Manning, Prof. Medonel among others. One remark of N.A. Palkhiwala also finds place there, which reads: "Ancient Indians laid the foundations of mathematical and scientific knowledge...Let us look at some of the conclusions reached by ancient insights which have become the fundamentals of modern science".[60] Brajendranath Seal's study unfolds that modern science owes very much to the ancient India.[61] This kind of account is also made by C. Srinivasan in his work, "The Science of the Vedas is the Science of Man"—of course, in philosophical form.[62]

Prof. S. Pattanaik makes such an appraisal, which reads: "India was more advanced than the Europeans in the fields of science and technology.....Holwell has maintained in his work 'An Account of Manner of inoculating for small-pox in East India' published in 1767 that much before the invention of Edward Janer it was in use in India... Indian medical science had well advanced... Indian astronomy was also rich as evident from the French scholar "Le'Gentiles' work 'Memoire' Sur l'Inde" published in 1772 and 1776....Sir Robert Balur described the Kashi Vishvanath Temple as one of the best five of the world....Sir J. Bank's work in 1792 exhibits that India was also advanced in steel production. Even England was importing wheel from India... Lt. Col. Ironside's work 'Uses of Son and Manufacturing of Hindustan Paper' published in 1774 shows that India was also manufacturing quality papers.... Indian wool was highly popular in Europe in eighteenth century. ...Indian shipping technology was also much developed. Indians taught much of it to the Britishers than to learn.[63]

India's contribution to early western science has been further elaborated by Shishir Kumar Mitra, who writes, "In science, too, Europe's debt to India is considerable, says A.A. Macdonell, the eminent British Indologist. The so-called Arabic numericals, the use of zero, the fundamental principles of Algebra and Geometry are distinctly of Indian origin, carried to Europe by the Arabs. Royle says that Hippocrats, the father of western medicine, borrowed his 'Malaria Medicia' from India. In the time of Alexander, says Garrison, "Hindu physicians and surgeons enjoyed a well-earned reputation for superior knowledge and skill". Aristotle is believed to have been indebted to them. India's science of music is held to be source of Wagner's principal idea or the leading motive. Beethoven was not untouched by India.[64]

Savitri Devi recalls that Hindudom once used to extend over what is now Afghanistan, over Java, over Cambodia etc. The Queen of Dhritarashtra was princess of Gandhar, that is to say Afghanistan, and the remotest kings of Java, Cambodia, etc., were Indian kings.[65]

India did not contain merely different branches of knowledge, but it provided scope of spiritual emancipation. Among the relics of Indus civilisation, Dr. Radhakrishnan writes, one found figures which are the prototype of Shiva suggesting that he who explores his inward nature and integrates it as the ideal man. This image has haunted the spiritual landscape of his country from those early times till today.[66]

For centuries the whole of Eastern Asia from Burma to Japan was united with India in the almost closes ties of friendship. A famous scholar once said, "If I were to write the history of Japanese thought, it would be the history of Indian thought. This is equally true of our gods and goddesses from the Himalayas to Horyuji, Shiva, with six different forms is the most popular Hindu god in Japan. He is worshipped as Fudo. 'Yama', the god of death, actually the god of justice, is the most dreaded god in Japan. He is known as Enma San.[67] Such examples are overwhelming.

Plato, the first radical philosopher of West, is not less indebted to India. He is said to have visited Persia and there is a view that he was also in India for some time. His ideas of knowledge of soul to matter and its liberation therefrom, as also his doctrine of reincarnation are distinctively Sankhyan, says Hopkins. There is good deal of resemblance between Platonic concept of justice as found in his work 'Republic' and the concept of 'Varnashrama' of Manu. Plato also received inspiration from the Kathopanishad the dictum that the administration should be guided by spiritual consideration.[68] Swami Abhayananda concludes that the historical possibility of the Grecian world of thought being influenced by India through the medium of Persian must unquestioningly be granted, and with it the possibility of the Sankhya and Vedanta philosophy being transferred to Greece.[69] Beside Plato, his predecessor Pythagoras also derived his sublime theories from the fountain with the sages of India.[70] Egyptian priests had also settled down in India and borrowed much from it.[71] Further, Manu was the inspirer of Nietzsche.[72]

President De Valera maintained that the Irish people came from the eastern cradle of the Aryan race.[73] Again, the Pakhtoons of today are the Aryan Pakta tribe mentioned in the Rig Veda.[74] Since the third century B.C. foreign geographers and travellers, viz., Graeco-Roman, the Chinese and even the tenth century Arab historian Al Beruni regarded Afghanistan as part of India.[75]

"India had the duty of spreading 'Dharma', Persia that of Purity, Egypt that of Science, Greece that of Beauty, Rome that of Law",[76] remarked Annie Besant.

Buddhism, which spread in China, and Hinduism are inextricably interwined. According to Huen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim , a Shiva devotee had built the temple beside the Bodhi tree.[77]

The sage of Kanchi claims that there is enough evidence to prove that Hindu customs and practices were observed by all inhabitants of the world prior to the evolution of different religions.[78] Ranade was convinced that "this country of ours is the true land of promise...God has showed, on this ancient land....His choicest blessings".[79]

This kind of expression may go on.

(II) EVOCATION OF PATRIOTISM

Expression of love for motherland amounts to patriotism. It is latent with all the nationalists and the idealists of the world. To the Hindu nationalists, patriotism is not mere expression of the sense of nationalism, but total dedication for the sake of the nation. They always put the nation at high esteem so much so that they identify their religious sentiment with the land. Lajpat Rai held that 'Desh bhakti' (patriotism) is the part of one's being as much as his religion is".[80] B.C. Pal mentioned in Madras in 1907 that "the new spirit cured us of an imaginary and abstract patriotism. Love of India means love for its rivers and mountains, for its paddy fields and its arid sandy lands, its towers and villages and poor peoples, for its language , literature, philosophies, religion, culture and civilisation".[81]

Prof. Basiruddin Ahmed rightly viewed that "Indian nationalism, making India stronger and progressive are parts of Hindutva".[82] While it is usual for the Hindus, modern Hindu nationalists transform the phenomenon for concerted national resources. Prof. Rajendra Singh expressed that RSS not only likes to protect Hinduism, but to protect their land—that is India.[83]

Love and reverence towards India in the form of Mother is vital in Hindu thought. Sri Ram said to have told: "A tree must love the ground on which it stands".[84] He was not allured to golden Lanka and left it following victory. Motherland was not only equated with heaven by him, but considered higher to it.

The Hindu recites morning hymn thus:

"Samudra vasane devi parvate stana mandale;
Vishnu-patni namastubhyam padasparsham kshyamaswame".

It means, "O goddess with the seas as your clothes and the mountains as breasts of Laxmi, consort of Vishnu, please pardon me touching you with my feet".

It further reads:

"Gangescha Yamuneschaivia Godawari Saraswati,
Narmada Sindhu Kaveri jalesmin sannidhim kuru".

It means, may the Ganges, the Yamuna, the Saraswati, the Narmada, the Indus, and the Kaveri, enter into this water,

In this way, they recall the entirety of Indian history and culture; and ingrain in themselves a strong feeling of attachment towards the motherland.

Bankim Chandra provided Mother image to India in his song 'Vande Matram'. This classic composition sang thus:

"Hail to these, O Mother.

* * * * * *

Mother, to thee I bow
Who hath said thou art weak in thy lands,
When the swords flash out in twice seventy million hands,
And seventy million voice soar,
Thy dreadful name from shore to shore,
With many strength who are mighty and stood,
To thee I call, Mother and Lord".[85]

Again,Bankim called India: "Twan hi Durga dashapraharana dharini": means, "Though art the Great Destroyer armed with ten weapons".

Rabindranath also sang the same glory of Hindu nation in his celebrated poem, 'Devi Vhuvana Mohini' as "the enchanting goddess of the world.....Her feet washed by the blue waters of the ocean".[86]

Vivekananda was hesitant to consider Indian soil for mere mundane pleasure (bhoga bhooomi), as expected by the aliens in this country; but as the land of supreme duty (karma bhoomi). To him, motherland is the highest venerable goddess.[87] On his return from the West in 1897 he touched the Indian soil and expressed ecstatic pleasure stating that his soul and body became purified with that. In reply to reception in Calcutta he said; "India loved before I came away. Now the very dust of India has become holy to me, the very air is now to me holy, it is now the holy land, the place of pilgrimage". "Right from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. this Mother India is exact incarnation of Jagdamba". "Indians are my brothers, India is my life, Indian gods are my gods, India is the cradle of my infancy, the garden of my youth, and the Banaras, of my old age".[88] Let the motherland be our exclusive god for ensuing fifty years", was his exhortation. As sister Nivedita pointed out, "Vivekananda's queen was the motherland and there was not a cry within her shores that did not find in him a responsive echoe".[89]

Aurobindo wrote a letter: "I know my country as my mother. I adore her, I worship her".[90] Both Vivekananda and Aurobindo believed that national rejuvenation would come only when Indian tapped the potential source of power and directed their energies to the Mother Goddess as she manifested in the Hindu nation.[91] Following their footstep, L.K. Advani expressed resolve that the BJP would construct a grand temple of Mother India when it comes to power.[92] The BJP claims that the concept of Hindu nation cannot be interpreted without awakening the spirit of patriotism which has been weakened by the politics of pseudo-secularism.[93]

> "An obscure Hindu" too suggested to organise "Bharat Mata Bhajan Mandir" (Temple of Mother India) all over the country where the Hindus would assemble at least once a week. Thus, "Let us create a Religion of Patriotism in our 'Bharat Khand' (Indian nation). Thus our Mother will reveal herself in all her divine glory and she will come riding on her

> 'Lion-vahan' (consort)... Then our India will be the first amongst all the nations of this world".[94]

A part of RSS prayer in Sanskrit may be quoted here in English:

> "Salutations to the Motherland where I am born
> Salutations to the Hindu land where I have been brought up.
> Salutations to the land of Dharma for which my body may fall.
> To her, I salute again and again".[95]

Deendayal upheld: "Idam Rashtrasya, Idam na Mama"; which means, "This is offering to the nation, this is not mine".[96]

Iqbal, scion of a Kashmiri Brahmin family converts, had produced the song "Sare Jahan se achcha Hindusthan hamara....", which became also a nationalist poem of inspiration. The first stanza literally means, "Our Hindusthan is the best country of the world and we all Hindus are co-patriots of this country of ours".[97]

Mystically, Aurobindo had put India at high esteem—so also Vivekanada among others. Savitri Devi, like them, considered this land as the "lila kshetra" (mundane grounds) of gods and goddesses... whom the Hindu scriptures speak about, of whom the Hindu children know the names and the marvellous stories, to whom incense is burnt about, and flowers offered in the Hindu temples, shrines and homes. And this gives to India's sacredness a religious sanction".[98] For every individual Hindu, Goddess India is his life and spirit, "whose existence extends far beyond his thought, time and that of all what he can touch and see; whose glory draws him out of his personal insignificance, and magnifies him to his own eyes".[99]

Thus, each thinker on nationalism provided dose of patriotism which is hardly possible to be enlisted. Content of the present work is full of quotations from different Hindu nationalists evoking patriotism. They spell and sounded patriotism, which was responsible for evoking vigorous nationalist uprising and consolidation in different phases of modern India. It is evident that Mahatma Gandhi is said to have expressed that he loved the motherland thousand times more after studying the lectures of Swami Vivekananda. Lest, efforts of the Hindu nationalists in this direction has been serving as elixir to rebuild the Indian nation with full velocity. This makes a distinction from the rest of the Indian thinkers and leaders subscribing to the mechanistic utilitarian ideology with thrust on socio-economic problems. But these need certain propelling force to reckon with. Nothing can be achieved in vacuum.

(III) SYNTHESISING RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

Religion, 'dharma' in broader expression, and nation were never considered divorced in ancient India. Rather the very concept of 'Rashtra-Dharma' is latent. 'Dharma' was supposed to guide the state affairs. It was not meant to infuse institutionalised religion, but to appreciate the way of life in national perspective. From this angle that religion was put emphasis by the Hindu nationalists as a matter of element of nationhood. In the realm of Indian nationalism, the same is expressed in term of Hindutva.

Religion had made deep inroad in the life of the Indian people. But it became isolated from the national life paving the way for distortions. Temples were visited, Gita recited, traditional worship, rituals and offerings performed, bell rang and crunch blown, sages meditated in far off mountains, and foreign invaders made their way into India diluting the native culture. There is no greater irony than this in Indian history. Religion was interpreted as a matter of mere private and personal affair and individual became introvert seeking to internalise religion exclusively for himself. This led to self-alienation and erosion in public life. This transition was marked with the growing influence of denationalised forces on one hand, and aquiescence, inertia and sluggishness of the Indian people on the other.

Therefore, the Hindu nationalists realised it of urgent need to evoke religion in nationalist term and *vice versa*, and thus synthesised the two. Dayananda unequivocally spelt his agenda of Vedic Swaraj. Bankim Chandra made it clear in *Anand Math* that the area of activity of the saints was not limited to the temple-premise, but to raise arms to defend the nation. Vivekananda clarified that Indian people could understand even politics in religious term. Aurobindo expressed that religion was the centre-stage of Indian national life, and that Indian nationalism is nothing but 'Sanatana Dharma'.

Their plank of application was that root of all social and political gamuts lie in religion, and that is obviously Hinduism in Indian context. It is quixotic to insulate the inextricable phenomenons. There is an organic link between the two. They had to swallow criticism of medievalism, a contemptuous term, as if they were driving back the nation to primordialism. Their point of assertion was on ethos of Indian life, its very soul, its identity. Hence they resorted to club religion and nationalism in order to usher in a great national resurgence—to put the wheel of Indian nationalism on right track.

Bankim stimulated nationalism by an appeal to religious and cultural mores.[100] He held that Krishna's objective was to establish a kingdom based on religion.[101] He depicted the country as the Divine Mother.[102]

To Vivekananda, as mentioned earlier, the key-note of the music of national life was religion.[103] He desired to convert religious worship into national worship, and exhorted to regard mother India as the exlusive Goddess for next fifty years.

Aurobindo called the nation as the incarnation of Durga. In his writings, we find the concept of 'Kali' as the 'zeitgeist', which means spirit of time.[104] According to him, a purely political movement without any religious appeal could hardly rouse the people. He asked them to recall that by participating in a movement of spiritual nationalism that they could be helping in "creating a nation, consolidating an age and Aryanising the world".[105]

Tilak's inauguration of Ganapati festival and Shivaji festival was in tune with fusion of nationalism and religion. It was not a mere political strategy, as lamented by the critics, but was imperative.

Partition of Bengal was viewed as an insult to Kali. The fighters for Swaraj took oath in the name of Kali after taking sacred bath in the river Ganges. They used to hold Gita while stepping up the gallows. These are not possible in a manufactured form of nationalistic fervour. There is deep religious sentiment in it converted in term of nationalism. It was not only meaningful since it was paying—religion was never a means to the nationalists. Both nation and religion were presented by them in a form in order to erase the stigma of thousand years of political and cultural invasion of India. Consequently, the nationalists incorporated the factor of 'Swadharma' in their political agenda of 'Swaraj'. This is the singular great characteristic of the then nationalists distinguishing from the moderates.

Post-independence movements like anti-cow slaughter agitation, Ram Janmabhoomi issue, and programmes like varied 'Rath Yatra' and congregations organised by RSS-VHP-BJP family followed the stream flown by earlier nationalists. Things cannot be made ridiculous merely out of political compulsion, as the Moderates attempted to spurn the nationalists. But broader vision is needed without prejudicial to religious or nationalist issues. Take the case of Ram. He stands as the symbol of Indian value, morale, ideal, culture and what not notwithstanding religious question. This issue is a natural resultant of the driving force of Indian nationalism. Most of the issues seemingly religious are thus esoterically nationalistic.

RSS people emulate the spirit of 'sanatanas' (disciples) of 'Anand Math'. Their religion is the nation.[106] Religion is not passivity, but activity. Vivekananda had explained Gita in term of action, not inaction. And there is no higher 'karma' (deed) than to render disinterested service to the nation. Religious duty for a Hindu amounts to service to Indian nation. Thus, the factor of synthesising religion and nationalism gets *suo motto* strengthened giving rise to the very concept of Hindu nationalism.

(IV) EMPHASIS ON DHARMA

Hindu nationalism lends profound stress on 'Dharma', which is not to be interpreted in narrow sense of creed and ritual. The term 'Dharma' is not just the English equivalent of religion. John Woodroffe rightly comments that there are many terms in Sanskrit for which it is impossible to find an adequate English translation. He feels that "only a race's own language can express its soul".[107] That is why the Encyclopaedia of Religions did not venture to translate Dharma into English so much so that where there is no concept of a particular language on a phenomenon there is obviously dearth of nomenclature.[108] However, even if we see religion as the nearest approximation to Dharma, it is central in the life of Indian nation. "India is earth's central shrine in religion".[109] The term 'religion' has been derived from Latin word 'ligare', which means keeping the people together. It is synonymous with Dharma to certain extent. The term Dharma comes from the Sanskrit root 'dhr', means to bear together. Also it means, to sustain, support, uphold.[110] Dharma represents correctness, both in a descriptive one (the way things are) and in a prescriptive way (the way things should be).[111] It is the basis of personal and social life.[112] That means, it binds the individual and the society together. It restrains the selfishness of man and makes good social life possible. The Mahabharata and Matsya Purana put it thus: "Dharma sustains, ennobles and fulfils the whole life."[113]

Dharma has been defined to mean law, virtue, legal of moral duties.[114] It is defined as moral duties and divine law which sustains all creatures.[115] It is also defined as the laws of cosmic harmony as applied to human life. All those principles which bring about harmony and progress in the life of mankind are included in the term Dharma.[116] It is the 'chiti' or soul or vital spirit of the nation.

Bankim Chandra held the belief that 'dharma' rather than religious belonging is the criteria for determining superiority.[117] Tilak held that the root word 'dhr' implies to bear together. He means by it to connect the soul with God: also man's duties in different contexts.[118] "Dharma goes beyond religion; which defines one's relationship with the supreme. Our forefathers believed that man only has a living relationship with his society but considered as "Mother Nature"—that is universal law.[119]

Dr. Radhakrishnan clarified that religion (Dharma) is not a magic or witch-craft, quackery or superstition. It is not to be confused with outdated dogmas and incredible superstitions which are hindrances and barriers, which spoil the simplicity of spiritual life.[120] He asserts that religion is fulfilment of man's life, or experience in which every aspect of his being is raised to its highest extent.[121] Since in Hindu thought the society is knit together by each individual and each group doing its specific duties, the term is used to mean duty. Annie Besant put it thus: "Dharma means duty towards ourselves, to the society, to the God and so on". In the words of Rajani Kothari, "Sometimes narrowly translated as religion, the term 'Dharma' actually denotes a whole series of duties: personal, social, moral and religious".[122] E. Senat's perception is also the same.[123] To Dr. Ambedkar, religion is a strictly personal affair, while 'dharma' is a social duty.[124]

On the linguistic dichotomy of religion and Dharma in relation to Hindus, D.B. Thengadi observes in a novel form—"One scientific law, say law of gravitation was there, but it was named after Newton since he was the first to discover. Similarly, the eternal principles of socio-economic and other aspects were there, which may be called Dharma. But it was the Hindus who visualised them, and hence called Hindu Dharma".[125] Hinduism is no religion in semitic sense of them.[126] An Encyclopaedia of Religions states that Hinduism "is the general title for all the forms under which the religious consciousness of the people of India has found expression; and the link of internal connection between the diverse creeds which pass under this name.... There is no common article of faith or obligation of morality and the adherence to form, or religious duties is often superficial, and in recent times especially is greatly relaxed. The real and most powerful bond of union is social".[127]

Worship of God is only a part of Dharma, not the whole. In the past, temples used to serve as effective medium to educate people in their Dharma. However, just as schools themselves do not constitute knowledge, so also temples do not constitute Dharma.[128] Arun Shouri quotes the report of 1921 Census to clarify the distinction between Dharma and religion—that the Hindus have no concept as the word is used; who think in terms of the much inclusive and comprehensive concept of Dharma.[129] The concept of Dharma reduces itself into an institution, as Guenter Lewy describes, "Religion is a cultural institution, a complex of symbols, articles of faith and practices adhered by a group of believers who are related to, and commonly invoke the aid of superior human powers and provide answer to questions of ultimate meaning.[130]

There may also be much more signification of

Dharma. It may mean nature—illustratively, it is the 'dharma' (nature) of water to flow down. Lord Krishna evoked not to shun one's Dharma, and warned it might be frightening to accept that of others.[131] A man gets his Dharma from the mother's womb and it is just like a tree which cannot change its seed. So, Shivaji declared: "We shall shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies, who destroy our religion",[132] (Dharma).

The most consistent author on the foregoing subject, P.V. Kane, writes in his "History of Dharma Shastra" (Religious and Legal Principles of Hindus) that Dharma means not only religion, but includes legal and ethical dimensions too. It implies way to right conduct. Dharma may be classified into three so far as its application is concerned, viz., Samanya Dharma, meaning a code of conduct of all individuals; Raja Dharma, the constitutional law to be obeyed by the kings: and Vyavahara Dharma, i.e., civil and criminal law including procedural laws which has to be enforced by the government or the Courts.[133]

A.S. Altekar's contention is that Dharma,the basic concept of Hindu political thought is understood as a source of political, social and religious duties which is capable of changing them, and it is an agency of absolute truth executing those duties in the world of men.[134] Both Altekar and Kane argue that the concept of Dharma stood for a Hindu society that is dynamic and evolving.[135]

The Indian concept of Dharma played a vital role in the shaping of both the political thought and institutions of the ancient India.[136] Political mysticism was discouraged by the doctrine of 'Dharma' in India, which concerned society and not the state, and by the fundamental individualism of all the metaphysical systems.[137]

To set the deliberation at rest, Lord Krishna may be quoted, saying in Gita:

"Yada yada hi dharmasya glinirbhavati Bharata

Abahyuthanam dharmasya tadatmanamsrujam-
yaham
Paritranaya sadhunam vinasayascha duskrutam
Dharma sansthapanaya sambhavami yuge yuge".

It means, "Whenever, O Bharata, there is decadence of Dharma and prevalence of Adharma (antipode of Dharma), I always incarnate myself. For the protection of good, for the extirpation of evil-doers, and for the establishment of Dharma, I am born from age to age".

An author in Political Theory maintains that religion has long ceased to be a factor of nationality. "But in the East, particularly India, it is still a great force to be reckoned with";[138] and the Hindu nationalists obviously put thrust over the same. In Dayananda's scheme of Vedic Swaraj, "there shall be rule of Dharma". It was also called by many as "Ram Rajya".. During the Swadeshi movement clarion call was given in the name of Dharma. The nationalists realised to the very core of heart that "Dharma and Sanskriti" constitute the life-value of India.[139]

It is in the name of religion that Bankim Chandra glorified the nation. He called Dharma the eternal source —the humanness, love for the people and doing good, sanctified by devotion to God and bringing to man peace and personal happiness. He also included patriotism in the concept Dharma. "Do not forget that love for the homeland is the highest Dharma", he exhorted in his work 'Dharma Tattva'.[140] Thus, he was prepared to place patriotism above all other manifestations of Dharma. His concept of Dharma attempts to reconcile "Philosophy of spirit with a rational doctrine of power".[141]

To Vivekananda, "Religion (Dharma) is realisation, not talk, nor doctrine, nor theories, however beautiful they may be. It is being and becoming, not hearing or acknowledging, it is the whole soul becoming changed into what it believes. That is religion".[142] He held that one of the greatest lessons, he learnt in his life was "to pay as much attention to the means of work as to its end".[143] In another context he held, "By giving life to save the life of the dying, that is the essence of religion".[144] He rightly said, "My country got enough wealth and power, but they were never our ideal"[145]—the ideal was Dharma. To him, Dharma was focal of India's social and political life. In his words, "Remember, the centre of our nation is not politics or economy, but Dharma". He warned the people that it would be futile and suicidal for them to attempt to make politics, and not religion, the centre of their national life.[146] He expected that religion was capable of averting oppression and social contradictions. He and other Indian thinkers, having analogous ideology, saw that in the West religion by no means fulfilled such role and the religious ideology itself was on the decline thereof. Vivekananda, like many others of his time, declared India a peculiar country of religion, different thereby from the West.[147] "Above all India is the land of religion".[148] "In religion lies the vitality of India".[149] So, he advised to "create European society with the religion of India".[150]

Aurobindo felt that it was necessary to construct a new India on the basis of Dharma; "which is a conscious imposition of a rule of ideal living"—not merely a religious creed as expected by the West. He meant "in every walk of life there should be a spiritual outlook. He wanted to revive the 'Sanatana Dharma'—the preștine Dharma. From this point of view, Aurobindo differentiated the nation from the state, which is a mere military, political and economic force without any ethical character. In a letter to Joseph Baptist in 1920 he wrote; "Spiritualism is the distinction of India and the democratic socialism of Europe did not hold good within this country". He again reiterated: "We will interpret the European civilisation from Indian point of view and we will not accept dominance of Europe as such. Blind imitation of the West is the serious challenge to our culture... in this direction and all possible means".[151]

Census Commissioner Risley had arbitrarily anatomised Indian population as heterogeonous owing to diverse origin. Aurobindo reacted to it, "..... These misunderstanding springs always from the total difference of outlook or religion between the Indian and the normal western mind... To the Indian mind, dogma is the least important part of religion, and the religious spirit matters, not the dogma; but to the western mind a fixed intellectual belief is the most important part of a cult".[152]

Synthesising Vivekananda and Aurobindo, Colwalkar expressed that "We cannot give up religion in our national life as it would mean that we have turned faithless to our race spirit, to the ideal and mission for which we have lived for ages".[153]

Tilak had visualised independent India as Dharma Rajya.[154] He believed that the moral purpose was the specific feature of Hindu concept of state that there is a place for a high moral purpose, which none of the modern states, whether democratic or communists, embody.[155]

In a letter to Gandhi, Lajpat Rai wrote: "What we need is not a creed, but Dharma".[156] "Dharma Rajya is a political regime according to the laws of Dharma". It is the highest ideal at the national plane.[157] It is the eternal law that governs the society. According to Dr. Dhawan, the functions of the state in ancient India was not to amend or alter Dharma, but to subserve it.[158]

M. Rama Jois, former Chief Justice of Punjab and Haryana High Court, remarks in a forceful and convincing manner, thus: "Dharma protects those who protect it. Those who destroy Dharma get destroyed. Dharma is the king of kings, no one is superior to Dharma. Dharma had become the basic structure of our civilisation, culture and Rajadharma—the constitutional law of ancient India to be obeyed by the kings. The mandate of Rajadharma was just as the mother earth gives equal support to all beings, the king should protect all his subjects without discrimination". The practice of every religion is conformity with Dharma. Dharma is universal. It is a code of conduct for all human beings for all time to come. They are collectively called Dharma and in common parlance, Hindu Dharma".[159]

Championing the cause of Dharma, Bharatiya Jana Sangh explained, "Dharma really means those eternal principles which sustain an entity—individual or corporate—and abide by which, that entity can achieve material prosperity in this world and spiritual salvation in the next. The basic attribute of Dharma are internal and immutable. But in the matter of detailed spelling out of those principles. Dharma does vary in accordance with place and period. Nevertheless in this changing world, Dharma is the only factor that brings stability to society. According to Indian polity ; therefore, absolute sovereignty lies vested in Dharma alone".[160] Indeed, there is a millennial hope in RSS literature that political power will fade away when Dharma becomes the accepted norm of behaviour.[161]

BJS literature further read: "in the Krita Yuga, they say, all men were guided in their conduct towards one another by Dharma, so there was no state. That our conception of the ideal state of society—stateless, and regulated entirely by Dharma. This is possible only when everyone becomes selfless and 'dharmanistha' (duty-conscious). But accordingly, the institute of state is necessary to maintain order and to assure to every individual all opportunity for following his Dharma".[162]

"Dharma Rajya is our ideal", the BJS Document further laid. "The ideal of the Indian state has been Dharma Rajya".[163] "Dharma Rajya", it read, "does not recognise any individual or body as sovereign". Every individual is subject to certain obligations and regulations. Right of the executive, of the legislatures, as well as of the people, are determined and regulated by Dharma. Licentious conduct is not permitted. The nearest English equivalent of Dharma Rajya is rule of Law. Dharma Rajya ensures law. On one hand it curbs arbitrariness and totalitarianism, and on the other prevents democracy from degenerating into mobocracy. While other concepts of state are right-oriented, the Indian concept of Dharma Rajya is duty-oriented. Naturally, therefore, there is no scope here for rights being trampled upon or darkening after unlimited rights. Also there is no danger of dereliction of duty, of power-madness, or of any conflict of rights".[164]

"In a Dharma Rajya, people's rights are inviolable. It is the duty of the people to guard these rights of their zealously because it is through the exercise of these rights they can fulfil their Dharma... Duty and rights are the two sides of a triangle which has Dharma as its base. It is the right of soldier to be equipped with arms, for without arms he cannot fulfil his duty of defending the people. But how these arms are to be provided, and used is a matter governed entirely by Dharma".[165] Dharma is also to guide political freedom as well as economic and social emancipation.[166]

Deendayal translated democracy as 'Jana Rajya', and held that it must be rooted in Dharma which is eternal, which is truth.[167] In a Dharma Rajya, the state is absolutely powerful. It is subject to Dharma. "We have always sovereignty in Dharma".[168] In the definition of democracy, there are three implications, viz., government of the people, by the people, and for the people. 'Of' stands for democracy, 'by' stands for democracy, and 'for' indicates Dharma.[169] Dharma Rajya is not a dictate or arbitrary rule, nor it is a democratic rule based on self-interest.

The Hindu king, at the time of coronation had to affirm, "May I, May I be deprived of heaven, of life and offspring if I oppress You". To become a 'Chakraborty' (emperor) he had to perform crowning sacrifice, the 'Ashvamedha Yagna', and say thrice 'Adandyoswami' (I have conquered the world and nobody can punish me). Each time he said that, the chief priest of the sacrifice ceremony took the 'Dharma danda' (sacred rod) in his hand saying 'Dharma dandyosi' (Dharma is there as your punisher).[170]

In Dharma Rajya, the king is not everything in the same fashion as Louis XIV declared: "Le'tat cest moi" (I am the state). Kautilya wrote that the state comprised seven departments, seven 'prakritis' of which the king was only one and he was in control of the other six 'prakritis'. "This is a Dharma behaving, as an absolute monarch is Adharma".[171] There was no divine right of kings, no autocratic power, and if the king misgoverned, his people had rights to remove him out and appoint another in his place.[172]

Hindu social life is governed by 'Chaturvidha Purusharth', which enlists Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. But for Dharma, Moksha (self-realisation) is impossible, and only with Artha (matter) and Kama (Desire) human life would be reduced to a beastly life. So, no station of life was left outside the purview of Dharma. Woodroffe observes that India's religion is the aspiration to spiritual consciousness. "Her whole Dharma or Law is founded upon it".[173]

Such a concept is distinguished from a material life. The Hindu nationalists are in fact critical of materialism. Matter is one aspect of life, not its total determinant. They reject material interpretation of history, life and society. To the Hindus, both individual and corporate life get fulfilment only when accompanied with Dharma. "In a land which gave to the concept of 'sanatana dharma', which deals with life as an integrated whole, religion is being used to indicate only a part of life, separate from other aspects such as the mundane or civil.... Dharma permeates every human activity".[174]

Dr. Radhakrishnan viewed that politics is but applied religion. Believing in the spiritual foundation of politics, he regarded the individual as more important than the state.[175] Therefore, the Bharatiya Janata Party strongly opposed the bill seeking separation of religion from politics. They partly conducted massive public awakening programmes from 11 September to 25 September 1993, which was meant for the cause of "Loktantra rakshanaya dharmachakra pravartanaya", i.e., for protection of democracy and Dharma; which has been inscribed in the Parliament building itself.

All those who subscribe the concept of Hindu nationalism regard Dharma as the base of the nation. The Congress nationalists made it vigorous. Hindu Mahasabha continued it—so also Bharatiya Jana Sangh and later Bharatiya Janata Party. The BJP does not mince a word in spelling that Dharma is the plinth of the Indian nation, and hence it is their bounden duty to uphold.[176] "Yato dharmah tatoh jayate"—Victory is certain where there is Dharma.

(V) INSISTENCE ON CULTURE

To the western authors, culture seems to be the natural repository of political legitimacy.[177] Moreover, it is employed in loose sense to denote theatrical performances and entertainments. But it is interpreted by the Hindu nationalists in greater sense. It encompasses every gamut of life. It is inseparable from Dharma. It constitutes the sum-total of virtues which govern the individual as well as the society. It provides said meaning of a society in a wider context.[178] "Culture as a whole is a 'system', or 'pattern', or a 'configuration', entailing necessary minimum integration and internal consistence of beliefs, customs, traditions, attributes and values".[179] Further, culture is, at the subliminal level, a people's reservoire of refinement, a cathertic expression of liberty.[180]

Literally, culture is the moral or mental code of conduct. It is that part which elevates man to a higher phase, that is, to humanity. If 'prakriti' (Nature) is cultivated it gives rise to 'sanskriti' (culture), whereas its distortion leads to 'bikriti' (perversion). It restores balance between moral and material aspects of man's life. In this respect, culture is of individual concern.

On the other hand, culture is of social concern when it knits the individual with the society. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee considered culture to be the sum-total of a people in the realm of thought and action which imperceptibly moulds the mind and influences the conduct of that people individually as well as collectively.[181] Prof. Rajendra Singh states, "Our (RSS) definition of culture is transforming noble ideals into personal and social conduct.[182] Without culture, there can be no social assimilation.[183]

"West stands rebuked", comments C.E.M. Joad referring Dr. Radhakrishnan's version that "a community which is almost entirely occupied with life and body, physical and economic existence, scientific and technical efficiency to the exclusion of the higher humanistic ideals of mind and spirit is not truly civilised".[184] "The spirit must be imbued with love of humanity", he added.[185] Culture does not consist in the acquisition of shopwindow goods whose price can be quoted, whose value assessed in term of immediate advantage. Hence it is different to define, and to an increasingly governed by the stomach and pocket view of life, difficult to defend". "Culture may, however, best be symbolised by a torch that is passed on from hand down the generations". "Hinduism insists on conduct rather than creed.... it is not fanatical...it is tolerant of different creeds".[186]

India in its long span of chequered history has underlined a definite life-value, which may precisely be called 'Hindutva', and this constitutes the Indian culture. Hence the expression cultural nationalism is on card, which stands synonymous to Hindu nationalism. It implies deep effect of culture in Indian national life, which is a great wealth for India and humanity at length. Therefore, the savants felt it the historic mission of India to give cultural message to the world. Throwing light on the various pillars on which the edifice of Indian cultural nationalism has been built, Golwalkar said, "Culture gives us the ability to see a part of God in every human being. That is why all human beings are pure and worthy of respect; it is bad to differentiate between one man and another".[187]

It has been experienced that cultural unity has had been the foundation of Indian existence. So one protagonist of Hindu nationalism submits, "It is only one culture that can protect and develop India".[188] "We should no doubt build dams and factories, but what is more important today is to provide a philosophy of life to the country which is in accordance with our ancient ideals. For bringing about a national renaissance, it is necessary to revive Indian idealism".[189] "The problems of India were not merely political or economic but social and cultural too. The origin of Indian nationalism could be traced to the cultural unity of India".[190]

RSS view is that it is the Hindu culture which determined Indian nationalism. BJP believes that the roots of Indian nationalism lie in the common cultural ethos of Hinduism and this is the unifying factor of India.[191] Golwalkar's emphasis was that the 'Hindu Rashtra' is not merely a political and economic concept, but it is fundamentally cultural in nature.[192] In the words of an RSS ideologue, Hindu culture is the life-breath of Hindustan. "It is clear that if Hindustan is to be protected, we should first nourish the Hindu culture. If the Hindu culture perishes in Hindustan itself, and if the Hindu society ceases to exist, it will hardly be appropriate to refer to the mere geographical entity that remains as Hindustan. Mere geographical lumps do not make a nation.[193] This reminds the language of Annie Besant expressed as early as 1917. Dr. Hedgewar had proclaimed during freedom struggle that their effort to secure freedom must not come in the way of preserving "Our national culture."[194]

The Hindu nationalists are, by and large, critical of western materialist civilisation, which unleashed great harm in Indian perspective. It is by the indigenous culture that a nation rises.[195] So, the BJP manifesto views to "inculcate in youth a sense of pride in our traditions and heritage and confidence in our future".[196] The party believes in "protecting, preserving and promoting the cultural heritage of India that has given us an identity, an aura all our own. We will consume the ancient heritage of India and make people feel proud of it".[197]

The Hindu nationalists invariably reject the composite culture theory. Deendayal observed that the culture "or law to be followed in India must be Bharatiya in spirit and conception and not a mimicry of Mecca-Medina or Rome".[198] People of Bangladesh and Pakistan are Muslim, but their culture are different and consequently they got split up. Way of worship does not affect the culture. Arguably, people of Indonesia are Muslim, but they have ingrained more parity with Hindu culture owing to organic historical backdrop. Composite culture is a matter of self-contradiction so much so that composite life or soul is untenable. Consequently, RSS-BJP version is to uphold "one people one culture". All the BJS-BJP manifestos have reflected this idea in unequivocal term. The very fundamental declaration in all party manifestos have embedded to preserve and protect the veritable culture and heritage; and in fact, this constitutes the bedrock of its philosophy.

(VI) UPHOLDING SELF-LANGUAGE

Language is an element of nationality—a great integrating force. The Hindu nationalists stress on this factor, and naturally do hasten to have Sanskrit as the base language. It is not only the ancient language, but mother of all vernaculars of India. It embodies in itself the history and culture of this land. They draw a leaf from the Jews, who could elevate the so-called dead language, Hebrew to the height of a national language. It is the long-standing colonial super-structure which has inflicted inferiority complex in us that we cannot dispense without English. Even Jawaharlal Nahru, as Prime Minister, maintained that an alien language (meant English) could not be used as the official language for all time to come.[199]

However, the nationalists would like to promote all Mother Indian Languages. Sanskrit is not a spoken language as such. So they feel Hindi as the link language, which is by and large, understood in most parts of the country. Dayananda used to speak in Sanskrit in public congregations. Once Keshav Chandra Sen requested him to address the audience in Hindi for the latter's convenience. Dayananda obliged. He felt that a nation should have one voice just as the individual has one voice. He sought to spread Vedic religion by means of a common language and that was Hindi. He exhorted the people, "If you want freedom, you must have your language". He ridiculed the use of French language which was largely in use in Punjab.[200] The Arya Samaj organised a civil disobedience campaign in June 1956 in Punjab in support of its demand for seeking a 'rightful' place for Hindi in the educational and administrative fields.[201]

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was first to make cause in the Indian National Congress that Hindi in Devnagri script be adopted as the national language of India and be incorporated as part of the educational institutions. He desired it to be a link of cohesion in Hindu nationalism; and he forcefully argued for it in 1905 at a conference organised by the Nagri Pracharini Sabha.[202] Even later he made it clear that Hindi should be the 'lingua franca' of India in future.[203]

The demand for Swaraj by the Congress Nationalists also echoed for 'Swabhasa' (self-language). The demand for 'swabhasa' was incorporated in the Congress Resolution in 1906 at the insistence of the Nationalists. They made it clear that self-language was precursor to self-government. To them, language is a matter of dignity and self-respect for a people. It is said that love to mother-tongue is love to the motherland. It is not merely a question of sentiment but of practical worth, that a nation can rise only with its language while other languages may be learnt in addition. The same plank was carried aloft by the successive Hindu nationalists.

The Jana Sangh expected that Hindi would automatically become a link language; and Sanskrit would be used all over the country for ceremonial purpose.[204] The 'Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha' of RSS, in March 1958, demanded to accept Sanskrit as 'Rashtra Bhasa' (National language).[205] To H.V. Seshadri, without Sanskrit there can be no culture.[206] It unfolds the wisdom of India. The quotations go on....

(VII) PROTECTION OF COW SPECIES

India is a pastoral country. Milk and minerals are required abundantly, which in turn require cow species. Moreover, cow is not viewed as a mere four-legged animal, but something higher and nobler. It has all along been considered as a symbol of Indian culture and point of honour. Therefore, the nationalists all along have been clamouring for its protection. In the words of Tara Chand, ".... the cause has much to command itself as the cow is a great economic asset and its preservation has enlisted the deep sentimental attachment of the Hindus".[207]

Historically Hindus have been feeling that their religion and culture is being vitiated by the aliens in India by means of cow slaughter. In view of overwhelming national sentiment in this regard even Mogul Emperors like Humayun and Akbar had prohibited cow slaughter.[208]

The Arya Samaj was the first in modern India which spearheaded the cow-protection movement in 1882-83. Dayananda also pleaded for ban of cattle sacrifice in (ir)religious rites. He founded the first successful cattle farm in India at Rabadi in 1878.[209]

Several movements were launched for the same cause in successive periods. Lokmanya Tilak held cow-protection as a vital question linked with Swaraj. He declared that the very first legislation in independent India should be the banning of cow slaughter. He encouraged the formation of anti-cow killing societies.[210] Bhai Parmanand's 'Hindu Sangathan' movement wanted to stop the slaughter of cows.[211] Dr. Hedgewar had fiercely set his face against his face against the little insult or harm to the cow.[212] There is a story how he humped over a person who was dragging a cow to an abatoire. Gandhiji accorded priority to cow protection even in comparison to Swaraj. Vinoba Bhave also followed the suit. The demand was ultimately incorporated in the Constitution of India.[213]

All the Election Manifestos and Documents of Hindu Mahasabha, Bharatiya Jana Sangh and Bharatiya Janata Party contained the provision of cow protection. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his Presidential Address to Gaya Session of Hindu Mahasabha on 30 December 1922 demanded to stop cow slaughter.[214] Atal Bihari Vajpayee, as Jana Sangh President pleaded at Indore on 7 September 1968 for the same.[215] The BJP recognises the fact that from time immemorial cow-protection has remained one of the basis of Indian culture and Indian agriculture.[216]

The Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha of RSS, in December 1958, resolved to resort cow protection. Its Kendriya Karyakarini Mandal resolved in December 1960 thus : "Cow is a point of national honour and vernacular for 'Bharat varsha'. Non-slaughter of the cow-species has been the age-old tradition of our independent national life... So it is to be incorporated in the Constitution".[217] It is to be noted that though it finds place in the Constitution it is within the ambit of the Directive Principles of State Policy.

A massive nation-wide anti-cow slaughter movement was launched, supported by RSS-BJS-VHP combine in 1966 by the 'Goraksha Andolan Mahayagna' (Cow Protection Campaign). The signature campaign carried by the movement is a world record, which collected as many as 1,75,39,813 adult signatures from all over the country demanding immediate and complete ban on cow slaughter.[218] On 7 November 1966, an estimated crowd of one lakh demonstrated in support of their demand on cow protection in front of Parliament.[219] Different cow-protection organisations, beside the political parties and national organisations, have cropped up for the purpose.

The BJP Government of Delhi enacted "The Agricultural Cattle Protection Act" to the intent in 1994.[220] The short-lived BJP Government in May 1996 incorporated the resolve to ban cow slaughter in the Address of the President to the Parliament.

(VIII) ASPIRATION FOR UNDIVIDED INDIA

The Hindu nationalists all along have considered India as Mother, and as such all along they would like to see it undivided. Right from Gandhar down to Indonesia, Indian cultural unity had been visualised, and the nationalists would like to have greater India—not by invasion, but by the feeling of oneness—not necessarily political unity, but cultural unity.

Dayananda mourned for absence of undivided rule in India.[221] Tilak opined to form an Asian Federation comprising the area from Afghanistan to India.[222]

The Hindu nationalists strongly opposed the partition in 1947. However, partition was materialised.

Aurobindo, who fought against the partition of Bengal (that too within the country) had the misfortune to witness the country's dismemberment. He expressed his displeasure and registered strong exception to it.[223]

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar launched crusade against the demand of Pakistan in a unique form. He presented a work entitled 'Thoughts on Pakistan' in 1941, where he observed: "It was quite natural for the Hindus to feel, to use the language of H.G. Wells, that it would be improper for India to be without a nationality as it be for a man to be without his clothes in a crowded assembly... If the Muslims in India are a separate nation, then, of course, India is not a nation.[224] When the Muslim League passed the resolution of Pakistan in its Lahore Session in 1940, he wrote: "Hindu India was startled to attention as it had never before[225]. "Suppose an Indian is asked", he quipped, "What is the highest destiny you wish for your country, what would be his answer ? .... There can be no doubt that other things being equal, a hundred per cent Indian, proud of his country, would say 'An Integral and independent India is my ideal of India's destiny".[226] He reacted the demand of Pakistan as a matter of national frustration.[227]

The Hindu Mahasabha fought tooth and nail against Muslim League's cry for Pakistan.[228] Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee stated on 3 July 1947 that Hindus would not accept partition. It was published in the first issue of 'Organiser'.[229] Golwalkar and Savarkar undertook fast on 15th August 1947 expressing anguish against partition.

Though the partition became 'fait accompli', the Hindu nationalists did not leave the issue to its fate. The post-partition scenario has already been analysed, so also the birth of Jana Sangh in 1951 followed by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's resignation from the Nehru Cabinet in 1950 in protest against Nehru-Liaquat Pact relating to refugee problem from erstwhile East Pakistan.

The demand for undivided India found place in the first election manifesto of Jana Sangh, and in fact it was the first point behind the formation of the party itself. It declared; "United India is our life-breath".[230] The party called for the annulment of partition and the restoration of 'Akhand Bharat' (Undivided India), demanded territory from Pakistan for the rehabilitation of Hindu refugees in India, and urged the liberation of Pakistan-occupied areas of Kashmir.[231] It was not considered by them as chauvinism, but a mark of deep patriotism. It was not even a mere outburst of their emotion, but a matter of historical and geographical concern. Dr. Mukherjee stated: "Akhand Bharat is no election slogan with us: it is an article of faith... It is a challenge to our manhood and humanity alike. No artificial borders can keep Bharat divided, which is and has always remained one—geographically and economically".[232]

To BJS, the existence of Pakistan not only meant a separate political entity on Indian soil, it amounted to a refutation of the fact of one nationhood and one culture, and a bid to keep alive the theory of two-nations and two-cultures. "It shall be an objective of Jana Sangh", the Party declared, "to end the separation of India and Pakistan and to bring the two together".[233]

In his article 'Akhand Bharat', Deendayal wrote, "No sensible man will say that six crores of Muslims (of the then undivided India) should be eradicated or thrown out of India, but then they will have to identify themselves completely with Indian life. If the consciousness of oneness is possible in the geographically partitioned India, the identification of the rest of the region will be achieved in no time".[234]

Unlike Jana Sangh, the BJP did not raise the issue of partition, probably with the passage of time, but it is not yet forgetful of its far-reaching consequence. However, the party is at the moment insisting formation of a confederation. Late RSS Chief Deoras also talked of a loose federation voluntarily entered into, in 1980.[235] Sundarlal Patwa, one former Chief Minister from BJP rank, talked of formation of Indo-Pak Confederation for lasting peace.[236]

The agenda of undivided India is not deficient of substance. It is evident that out of 51 'Pithasthanas' (Shrines of goddess of power) of Hindus, 18 are lying in Pakistan and Bangladesh. It is again noteworthy that Pakistan celebrated the five thousandth birth anniversary of Panini, the great Sanskrit grammarian, who was born in that part which is now in Pakistan.[237] Benazir Bhutto is on record while she expresses her pride to have been born in a land (Sindh) which produced a great civilisation[238] (obviously the Vedic). From all these counts, one can well assert the close affinity between India and Pakistan, and consequently unity. It is heartening to note that the national anthem of India yet recalls "Punjaba, Sindhu, Gujarata, Maratha..."—though part of Punjab and whole of Sindh are at the moment with Pakistan!

Further, the concept of undivided India is not only related to Pakistan, but to other neighbouring countries which were parts of 'greater India'. Political unification may not be viable, but culturally it may be possible. Stating this, former BJP president Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi held that voluntary merger of neighbouring countries which were part of earlier India, viz., Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Sri Lanka may be accomplished.[239] He reminded in an article that Indonesia, for example, was integral part of India. "In Dutch, Nesis means Island. So, Indonesia meant Hindu Island". Hence it is the land which is related with the term Hindus, he wrote.[240]

There has been another problem cropping up in relation to Indo-Pak peace, i.e., Jammu and Kashmir. While the Hindu nationalists were averse to partition, they were further irked in the way the State of J & K was put. The Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession with the government of India in 1947, and thus the state became an integral part of India. But Pakistan made its bid to snatch away the State, and launched war against India. It was a bit successful. An 'Azad Kashmir' (Independent Kashmir) was carved out of the State, which is being nursed by Pakistan. Again, the constitution-makers of India provided a temporary provision for Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370 with special status, which is yet in force.[241]

So, the BJS and BJP have been demanding for abrogation of Article 370 to pave the way for complete integration of Kashmir. The provision is providing psychological fuel to Pakistan, who has been clamouring that Kashmir imbroglio is yet unsolved. The founder-president of BJS, Dr. Shyama Prasad Muskherjee laid down his life for the cause. The BJS also took critical stand in relation to Pakistan on different issues relating to transfer of territory following Tashkent and Shimla Pacts in 1966 and 1972 respectively. The Kutch Satyagraha by BJS in 1965 is on record.

The RSS, in its Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha, resolved in March 1953, in support of the complete merger of Kashmir with India.[242] The RSS people also participated in 1954 in the liberation struggle of Dadra and Nagar Haveli enclave from Portugal.[243] Further, its Karyakarini Mandal, in December 1959, opposed the transfer of Beru Bari to Pakistan. It considered it as detrimental to our national pride and sovereignty, and the sentiment of our countrymen".[244]

The BJP launched Tin Bigha movement in 1992 which goes a long way for the party's concern for territorial integrity of India (references have already been given). The former BJP President Dr. M.M. Joshi spearheaded a long 'Ekta Yatra' (Unity March) in 1991-92 from Kanyakumari to Kashmir in order to highlight public awareness on the vexed issue of Kashmir and its entailing problems like the disinformation campaign and the activities of the fifth columnists.

(IX) CONFORMING THE ORGANIC THEORY

The Hindu political thinkers viewed the society as an organic structure.[245] Which is popularly known in western political thought in the form of Organic Theory of (nation) state. However, this is not a new phenomenon in Indian context. Right since the inception of Indian nationhood, India has had been discerned with Mother Image. M.A. Buch explains the stand of the Hindu nationalists that a nation is an organism and it grows like all organisms, according to the laws of its own.[246]

However, the Indian nationalists, unlike the western thinkers, do not use the term state, which is considered by the former as subservient to the nation. Yet, as a matter of analysis the western concept of organic theory may be quoted. According to it, the state is not a disorganised jumble of parts, a lifeless instrument, but an organised living unit.[247] The term state may be substituted with the term nation for the convenience of understanding the Hindu nationalists. While making the distinction, they hold the nation as a living organism with its own life and soul, whereas the country or the state is mere the body—the outer expression.

The Hindu morning hymn recall different parts of India with comparison to different organs of human body; such as, the Himalayas as the crown, the Vindhyas as the waist, the seas washing the feet and the like. The fifty-one 'Pithasthanas' are assidiously compared with different organs of the body of the goddess.[248]

Swami Ramatirtha describes India as a living personality with limbs in a graphic form. He narrates: "The land of India is my own body. The Comrin is my feet, the Himalayas my head. From my hair flows the Ganges, from my head came the Brahmaputra, and the

Indus, the Vindhyachalas are girt round my lions. The Coromandel is my left and Malabar my right leg. I am the whole of India, and its east and west are my arms... when I walk I feel it is India walking. When I breath I feel it is India breathing. I am India. I am Shankara. I am Shiva. This is the highest realisation of patriotism, and this is practical Vedanta".[249]

In an article Bipin Chandra Pal writes, "In a nation, the individuals composing it stand in an organic relation to one another and to the whole of which they are limbs and organs... An organism is logically prior to the organs. Organs evoke, organs change, but the organism remains the same. Individuals are born, individuals die, but the Nation liveth for ever".[250] To him, "..... this swaraj again was to be an organic growth...". He emphasised the necessity of growth from within".[251]

Bhai Parmanand maintained that nations like organism grow, decay and die.[252] Aurobindo held that the nation "is an organism which grows under the stress as a principle of life within".[253] Once Dr. Hardayal exhorted: "Hinduism is not a fossil, is not a moribund organism. It is a living Being".[254]

Golwalkar observed: "The basic tenet of Hindu philosophy commands us to visualise the entire society as the living embodiment 'Virat Purushartha"[255]—one colossal corporate personality.[256] Deendayal compared the 'Samaja Purusha' (Society in Person) with 'virat', which has thousands of hands and arms. However, the 'prana shakti', the heart is one. The 'samaja purusha' experiences its inner spiritual oneness and the 'virat purusha' extremely happy with this self-realisation performs all its activities through various limbs".[257] The 'virat' is awakened by the light of 'chiti'. 'Virat' is the life force of a nation, while 'chiti' is the—soul. 'Hindu Rashtra' is true living manifestation of this principle".[258]

Pandit Upadhyay again stretches the deliberation:

"A nation is not like a club which can be created by some crores of people passing a resolution and defining a common code of behaviour binding on all its members. A certain mass of people emerges with an inherent motivation. It is like the soul of adopting the medium of one body".[259] "An integrated society has been living as one nation in this country".[260] Thus, the Hindu concept of nation rejects the Social Contract Theory. The relationship between the nation is that between the child and the mother—which cannot be explained in term of contract. It is not a subordinate contract like the mortar or brick; and this view well resembles with that of Edmund Burke.[261] When they talk of India, it well comprises those who are living, those who are dead and those who will be living. Again, it is not enough. The nation means the sum-total of its culture, philosophy, tradition, values and everything.[262]

The RSS views the nation as a living organism. Its daily prayer reads: ".... vayam Hindu Rashtrang bhuta":[263] means, "I am the organic part of the Hindu nation". To the RSS, the society is marked by an organic relationship of all limbs and organs with one another and with the body as a whole. Any deficiency in any part of the body is immediately sought to be set right by the rest of the organs rendering necessary sacrifice. Such unifying consciousness in society alone can make the spontaneous shaping joys and sorrows among the people.[264]

The Jana Sangh literature held the view that society is not just a conglomeration of individuals. It is a living entity by itself.[265] The Hindu nationalists usually share the said concept without indulging in academic acrobatic of theory-building.

(X) CONFORMING THE DIVINE THEORY

The Hindu nationalists subscribe a unique kind of divine theory which may be compared and contrasted with western model. Basically, it refers to divine origin of the nation (State) as distinguished from man-made. The Hindu nationalists moved two steps forward, viz., that India is the land of gods ; and that the land itself is the incarnation of Divine Providence. Popular Hindu belief shapes Mother-Image to the land. Bankim Chandra and Vivekananda worked out extensively on the same. All these compounded together leads to Spiritual Nationalism or Metaphysical Nationalism.

Aurobindo called the nation as incarnation of God, which means, the nation is not only created by God, but it is identified with God. He even added mysticism to the national movement and perceived it as organic. In his words, "The 'Shakti' (Goddess) we call India, Bhavani Bharati, is the living unity of the Shaktis of three hundred million people".[266] To him, nationalism is immortal,[267] which resembles with the concept of Fitche. Following him, Bhai Parmanand viewed that "the nation won't die, because it is the embodiment of divinity".[268]

The nation, according to Annie Besant, is a spiritual entity, and a unique revelation of God. She wrote that a nation is "distinctly an individual with a character, and that character depends on the nature of the spirit of its care.... If India still survives all who were her contemporaries five thousand years ago it is because the same spirit lives in her national body as lived, in it then".[269] "Just as you have a 'Jivatma' (Soul)", she addressed at the Calcutta session of Congress in 1917 in her presidential speech, "that shapes your destiny .... so it is with the life of a Nation; a nation is an individual of a higher order. The spirit of a Nation is a fragment of 'Ishwara' (divine power), comes direct from god Himself". "A nation is a spark of the Divine Fire, a Fragment of the Divine Life". "It is the divinity within that gives shape, colour and unity to a nation".[270]

While the Hindu nationalists commonly share the divine concept of nation, they sharply distinguish themselves from Hegel who held that the nation-state was the final culmination of the Spirit on earth.[271] The former do believe that the nation is a stage beyond which there is a long way to go, i.e., universality. Again, while they subscribe to the cult of spiritual nationalism, they outright reject the divine right of kings propounded by Robert Filmer in 1642.[272] Divine Right of king is a misapplication of Divine theory of nation-state. The Hindu political theory never contemplated the king as the embodiment of divine power. A point must not be confused that he was as the representative of the divinity, but to serve the people. He was subject to Dharma and accountable to the people. These marked differences must be taken note of while putting thrust on analogy.

(XI) CONFORMING THE IDEALIST THEORY

The Idealist theory which originated in ancient Greece, particularly in the writings of Plato,[273] gained momentum in the works of eighteenth century political thinker George Wilhem Frederich Hegel. The theory keeps the (nation) state at high esteem. It is supposed to be a spiritual institution—a self-actualising divine institution. It is an end in itself. It is absolute and supreme. The individual realises his best self only within the edifice of the (nation) state. The (nation) state is the march of God on earth. The individual can be sacrificed at the alter of the nation, which covers the entire gamut of human life. It wholly absorbs the individual. This theory considers the (nation) state as an organic entity. It is critical of the utilitarian and contractualist concepts.[274]

This theory, by and large, holds good with the Hindu nationalist perception, of course, keeping exceptions and reservations of its own. From the angle of synonymity, it holds the nation as living organised unity and as a divine institution. It exalts the nation and keeps it at high esteem. It venerates the nation as supreme. It is superior to the individuals. Conversely, the individual finds scope to fulfil himself only within the framework of the nation. The individual is of no worth beside the nation. It corroborates Edmund Burke's contention (who was, of course, technically not an Idealist), which holds thus: ".... Subordinate contracts for objects of mere occasional intents may be dissolved at pleasure—but the state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade or pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other low concern, to be taken for a little temporary interest. It is partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection".[275]

The Hindu nationalists call upon the individual to sacrifice for the sake of the nation. Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda, Tilak, Aurobindo—all exhorted so—venerated the Motherland in glowing terms. To Vivekananda, in the interest of one's nation is one's own interest, in the well-being of one's own nation is one's own well-being. Aurobindo appreciated Kant and Fitche's idealism.

Those who sacrificed their lives for the sake of the nation were inspired by the nationalists. When Vinayak Damodar Savarkar unexpectedly came across Ganesh Savarkar in Cellular jail, he expressed ecstatic joy in the words that what better they could have accomplished in the life but to sacrifice for the sake of Motherland ! V.D. Savarkar, in a different context, eulogised a lot to Guru Teg Bahadur who sacrificed his life for the cause of Hindu liberation of Punjab.[276] The revolutionaries were invariably swayed with this kind of spirit.

The RSS prayer reads: "Patatve sakayo namaste namaste",[277] which means, "May my life, O great and blessed Holy Land, be laid down in Thy Cause".

Both Idealist theory and Hindu nationalism put emphasis on historical growth of the nation. Both view the nation as self-sufficing entity apart from the individuals who compose it. Both do contemplate that the nation has a soul, a 'chiti' , a vital impulse (Elan Vital) as Bergson put it. Hegel maintained that the state is the expression of some spirit, and it is necessary to realise that spirit. He also called it 'Idea'. Vivekananda held that by realisation of the spirit of the nation, India can fulfil herself.[278] To Dr. Hedgewar, "This land is exact Jagaddhatri, Jagadamba (Goddess)". "We are her children".[279] "Her creation is worshipped at the alter of the nation".[280]

The Idealists conform the sacredness of the nation. The Hindu thinkers also belief "every drop in the life-current of our nationality as sacred".[281]

Following the great thinkers of Hindu renaissance Golwalkar called India a 'Virat Purusha'—a Colossal Personality. He exhorted: "Worship the nation". "Worship the Ideal".[282] Deendayal also corroborated the idea. They consider that the nation is not mere a combination of particles and dust and mortars: but it is 'He', where a national finds his reflection. To them, a nation represents the sum-total of its history, culture, tradition, point of honour and all the cherished values. In the words of Deendayal, "Like soul or fundamental principle of a nation, every society has an innate nature, which is in-born, and is not the result of historical circumstances". Further, "Rashtra connotes the entire gamuts of the life of the people constituting it". "According to the law of nature, the waters of the sea evaporates to form clouds which cause rain and the water goes back to the sea. This is what sustains the whole universe". "Man's behaviour in relation to society should also be guided by a similar consideration so that our philosophy can be useful to world peace and happiness".[283]

The Hindu nationalists hold that the nation is not merely a combination of the individuals as the liberals do believe. They do not consider it as a matter of utility. They strongly refute the utilitarian concept which considers the state as sheer means. They also, like the Idealists, thoroughly reject the Social Contract Theory propounded by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau in seventeenth and eighteenth century. The nation cannot be a product of some contract of low concern, it is a "contract of all arts, all sciences and all perfections". The Hindu nationalists, moreover, regard the nation as motherland. So, how can there be a contract between the mother and her child?, is the question, for whom their relationship is nothing but natural and vital.

However, inspite of world of parities there are grave technical and conceptual disparities between the western idealist and the Hindu nationalist thoughts. Hegel used the term state, whereas the Hindu nationalists use the term nation, which is, to them, distinct from the state. The latter hold that the state is somewhat mechanical and subservient to the nation—the state is a limb of the nation. As Deendayal puts, "Social Contract Theory can be applied to the state, but not to the nation".[284]

The Western Idealists did not make any distinction between the state and the society. The Hindu nationalists carved out the technical distinction between these two. They view the society, unlike the state, as an organic body. Deendayal discerns that the society is not composed of the individuals in a mechanical progression. "It is self-born SELF—its own life—it is sovereign being like an individual". Like Mc Dougal, he believes that the society has its body, mind, intellect and above all life and soul. "Individual psychology is different from group psychology. These two do not bear an arithmetic relation".[285]

Again, Hegel asserted on state's paramountcy, which ultimately created a totalitarian state. Hindu political thought did not conform treating the individual as a mere pawn. The individual was given right place in the society. They viewed the nation (state) as virtually an end in itself, no doubt, but within certain limits.[286] The individual is absorbed by the nation, according to both West and India; but their perception and approach vary.

Moreover, Hegel locates sovereign power in the state and creates an absolute state; but the Hindu nationalists locate sovereignty in Dharma. D.B. Thengadi writes, "In case of Hindu nation, the social life never centered round the state".[287] Nor the Hindu ethos, unlike the Idealists, does conform a totalitarian state. Of course, Fitche permitted a much wider sphere of autocracy to the state.[288]

Hegel glorified perpetual war, which is non-existent in Hindu thought. The latter, in turn, think in term of universal peace.

Again, to Hegel, the state is the final embodiment beyond which there is no further evolution,[289] which stands contrary to the Hindu view-point. To the latter, while the nation is the product of reason, it is only an intermediary stage for final evolution of world-spirit. Their objective is integral humanism. Hence, it is expressed as universalistic nationalism distinguished from regimented nationalism.

Moreover, the western Idealists preserve the existence of world of Ideas as distinct from that of the forms, and seeks to explain a thing in term of the idea informing it.[290] But Hindu thinkers, unlike it, do not dwell on mere ivory tower.

Therefore, the resemblance between the Western Idealist thought and the Hindu nationalist thought must not be traced too literally or outwardly. Their parity should be outlined with great care and caution. In fact, Hindu thought is away from the suffix 'ism', which usually buttresses dogmatism and entails rigidity. It is universalistic and hence sets pace with humanism *vis-a-vis* modernism—a veritable positive feature of its kind.

(XII) UPHOLDING INTEGRAL HUMANISM

Integral approach to the life of the individual, nation and universe is a characteristic feature of Hindu nationalism. Bipin Chandra Pal, beside others, was a spiritual humanist. Amalendra Prasad writes on him: "His was indeed, a religion and philosophy of integral humanism".[291] However, it was in the writings of Deendayal Upadhyay that the Integral Humanism reached its climax in consistent version. M.N. Roy wrote in 'Radical Humanism' in 1940 and 'New Humanism' in 1947. But they were rooted in 'Physical Realist' (materialist) thought[292], and were un-Indian to the very core. To the contrary, Deendayal's concept of Integral Humanism represents the entire ethos of Hindu nationalism. The springs of inspiration of him were the body scriptures of the Gita and Upanishads and so also epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata.[293]

Pandit Upadhyay's doctrine of Integral Humanism considers 'Chaturbidha Purushartha' as central idea of life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. Vivekananda had held that this is very characteristic of Hindu view of life, since in Europe, Artha and Kama are very well prevalent, and Dharma is there just as a matter of fashion, while the concept of Moksha is stranger to them.[294]

Integral Humanism considers man as a total being as distinguished from communism as well as capitalism, which treat the individual as only an economic man or material man. It considers the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual aspects in toto; failing which an individual cannot be a complete man and realise himself. This is what Indian culture dictates.

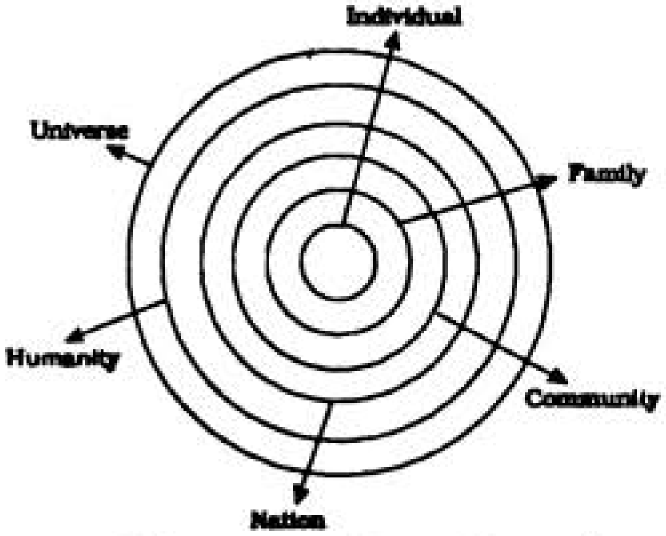
The concept of Integral Humanism views the nation as the 'vital' so much so that it (the nation) represents the past, present and future of a given society. It is the most important phase to realise the entire humanity. It would be fallacious to jump straight into the lap of humanity bypassing the phase of nationalism. Life is after all practical, and in case of corporate life it is more so.

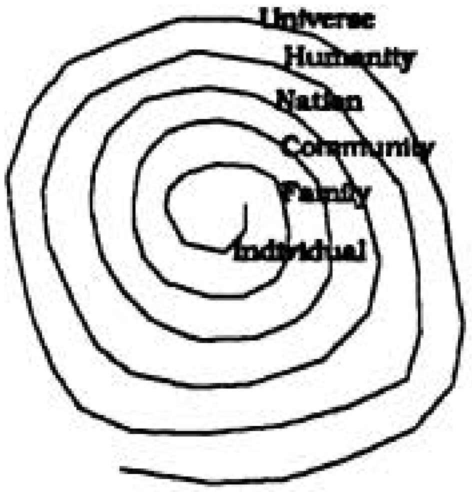
Pandit Upadhyay here makes a distinction between the state and the nation. A state is a machine, whereas a nation is an embodiment of spirit. Therefore, he claims that those nations whose life centered in the state were finished with the end of the state. On the other hand, where the state was not believed to be central to its life, the nation survived the transfer of political career.

The individual comprising body, intellect and soul is not limited to a singular 'I', but is also inseparably related to the plural 'We'. Integral Humanism probes the inherent contradiction of social contract theory thus: "If the individual produced a society, then in whom the residual power remains vested, in the society or in the individual? Does the individual have the right to change the society? Can the society impose a variety of regularities on the individual and claim a right to the allegiance of the individual to itself? Or is the individual free in regard to these questions?[295] Integral Humanism asserts that the nation is not like a commercial enterprise. It is an organic whole having its own life and spirit.

Integral Humanism feels the essence of 'chiti' or soul of nation. It expresses that the nature or 'chiti' is approved and added to culture. "Whatever is against chiti is discarded as perversion.... 'chiti' is the touch-stone on which each action, each attitude is tested".[296] "The ideals of the nation constitutes the nation-state, what is called 'Virat', which in turn is used and organised and capitalised by 'chiti'.[297]

Deendayal wants to interpret the individual, society, nation, humanity and the universe in a circular form. They are interconnected, not disconnected. Its structure is spiral and not concentric or linear as illustrated in the following diagram.


Concentric


Spiral

Thus, as found in the diagram, the position of the individual is very clear. It holds individual freedom and the interest of the society are supplementary to each other.[298]

To the Hindu nationalists, the stage of the nation is very conspicuous, which represents the sum-total of political, economic, social and religious life. The fruition of nation's life lies in he integrated development of the people in all these aspects.[299] It is unlike communism as well as capitalism which put emphasis only on the cosmic or material side. By nationalism it also implies the economic philosophy and that system which suits the practical necessity of the country and free from any 'ism'. Hindu thought-process demands welfare for all. It calls for "tena tyaktena bhunjitah", means, "shun the surplus for the society". It connotes that social necessity and individual necessity are to be balanced. One cannot be thought of without the other. Self-sufficiency of the nation and welfare of all' can be sought only by committing to the 'swadeshi' cause, while we can learn from others and usher in modern life. Life demands advancement.[300]

Integral Humanism establishes a harmonious relationship between the individual and the society. It spurns the theory of class-struggle as envisaged by Karl Marx but it talks of class co-operation. In the words of D.B. Thengadi, it "rejects class conflict and places a high value on organisational strength, national loyalty and the solidarity to the community..... that the various communities are but different limbs of the same organism, i.e., the 'Bharatiya' Nation. The Bharatiya social order thus implies the industry-wise arrangement, and not class-wise division of the society".[301]

Deendayal rules out any conflict of the individual and society. To him, Indian culture offers the philosophical substratum on the basis of which the conflicts could be harmonised and cherished objectives realised.[302]

The BJS declaration explained thus: "Several ideologies of the West are based on the assumption that there is an inherent conflict between the individual and society. These ideologies then take up the cause either of the one or of the other. But the fact is that there is no such interest conflict between the two entities. The visible entity—the individual—is also the representative of the invisible society. It is through him that the society manifests itself. He is in fact the chief instrument of society, and the measure of its fulfilment. Destruction or construction of the individuality would leave the society stunted. A flower is what it is because of its petals, and the worth of the petals lies in remaining with flower and adding to its beauty. Development of the individual and social good are not contradictory interests".[303]

An integrated life is not only the foundation and the underlying principle of our culture, but also it aims at its idea.[304] In other words, Indian culture provides an integrated life. The diversity in life is an expression of the internal unity. Deendayal evaluates that the civilisation have grown not on the basis of the survival of the fittest, but by consideration of how the operation of this would be least in human life". "An integrated life is the fundamental principle of Indian life". "Man is not only a collection of bone and flesh, but an incarnation of rationality". Thus, the individual occupied pivotal position in this system.[305] A way of life which completely ignores spiritual needs can never be perfect.[306] Man aspires happiness at every level—those of body, mind, intellect and soul.[307]

The BJS philosophy, following the stream, puts emphasis on all-round development of the individual. Its proclamation reads: "An individual is the aggregate of mind, intellect and soul. Any one desirous of all-round progress of the individual must keep in mind all these attributes of his life. Only then would an individual experience real happiness. This means that both material as well as spiritual progress are to be aimed at".[308]

Finally, defining Integral Humanism the BJS document states that it "is the name given to the sum-total of various features of Bharatiya 'sanskriti', abiding, dynamic, synthesising and sublime". This is the ideal which determines its direction and resolves. The BJS endorsed Deendayal's thesis in its Vijayawada session in January 1965. The Bharatiya Janata Party continued to have it as the bed-rock of its ideology.

Further, D.B. Thengadi has provided a thought provoking appraisal in the form of a table to simplify understanding of Hindu ideal of integral approach in comparison to communism and capitalism, as below:

Dimension 1	*Capitalism* 2	*Communism* 3	*Hindu Thought* 4
Philosophy	Materialism	Materialism	Integral Humanism
Appearance	Economic Man	Economic Man	Body, Mind, Intellect, Soul.
Objective	Fulfilment of Material need of the Individual	Fulfilment of Material need of the state	Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha
Sample	Club-life	Machine-life	Human Body
Discipline *vs.* Freedom	No limitation of individual whim	Regimented action of the individual and	Liberty with discipline with concentric

1	*2*	*3*	*4*
		the state discipline	form.
Working Principle	Individualism	Stateism	Commitment
System	Feeling of competition	Compulsion	Co-operation
Structure	Multiplicity	One-Party Dictatorship	Dharma Rajya
Master of Labour	Master	State	Society
Employment system	Diverse as per circumstance	State directed	As per attitude of the individual
Thought process	Disintegrated	Disintegrated	Total[309]

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4

APPRAISAL

Two consecutive trends seem crystal clear in the development of Hindu nationalism in modern India. One begins with the Arya Samaj ushering in renaissance and ending with the sad demise of Tilak. Another commenced with the foundation of Hindu Mahasabha and particularly with the emergence of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh following an interlude. Gail Omvedt lucidly summarises thus: "What is clear is that since the end of the nineteenth century in a line running from Tilak, Savarkar and others through the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS in the pre-independence period, and the RSS, Bharatiya Jana Sangh—BJP (and all connected organisations) and the newer, increasingly aggressive organisations like the Shiv Sena, the ideology of identifying India as Hindu and Hinduism as nationalism has gained increasing weight and power—at the cultural, social and political levels".[1]

However, the first epoch is, by and large, hailed by every section, even by the critics of Hindu nationalism; but the second stream is subject to trenchant offensive—may it be for political compulsion or misreading of the Indian ethos affected by the new school of secularism. Mahatma Gandhi buttressed the cause of 'sarva dharma sama bhava' under the influence of wider catholic Hindu tradition. But it was peculiarly (mis) applied by the new school giving rise to minoritism. Simultaneously it infused a sense of inferiority complex in Hindu mind, which interpreted Hinduism as a 'religion', that it has the exclusive burden to tolerate minoritism, that religious sensibility in corporate life is ridiculous, that Hinduism is one religion among many which constitute India, and that Indian nation can be constructed only of adjustment of the Hindus with the Muslims, and all that. Unmatching leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, his socialist school accompanied with communist brigade and the new class of English educated people as a legacy of earlier liberals put the entire Hindu thinking as chauvinist and communal. The same period witnessed the rise and growth of Fascism displaying rascist-aggressive card, which best suited the critics of nationalism all over.

Well, there were some Congress leaders who nurtured high concern for Hindu cause, namely, Rajendra Prasad, Ballav Bhai Patel, K.M. Munshi and C. Rajagopalachari,[2] and many others who had close association with Hindu Mahasabha having simultaneous membership of Congress, namely, Lala Lajpat Rai and Madan Mohan Malaviya. But the former maintained low profile so far as Hindu cause is concerned for varied reasons and could not carry the same to a successful culmination in an organised bid.

J.A. Curan, an American author moved in India from 1948 to 1951 during which he prepared his work 'Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: A Study on RSS'. It was the ban period of RSS (1948-49) following the unfortunate assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. The author grasped RSS under peculiar circumstance and used pejorative head-lines like 'militant'. His very objective was to condemn RSS, as Valentine Chirol's effort was to denigrate the Congress Nationalists.[3] However, no amount of villification syndrome sealed the forward march of the orgranisation so much so that it has become the largest non-governmental voluntary organisation of the world. It is worthwhile to recall Gandhiji's address in 1947, that the "RSS is a well-organised, well-disciplined body. Its strength can be.... in the interests of India".[4] Sardar Ballav Bhai Patel expressed high appreciation for the organisation.[5] It makes Arun Shouri constraint or remark that baseless charges are made against RSS by the rulers and their apologists when they fool to probe anything or eschew responsibility.[6]

Girilal Jain lashed out the charges of communalism to BJP since "the concept of Hindu Rashtra is not communal". Rather, he believes, it is the Hindu identification that reveals India's true image.[7] L.K. Advani, in an interview, equated BJP's Ayodhya movement with Tilak's 'Ganeshotsav'. To him, Britisher's criticism of Lokmanya Tilak and the Congress criticism of BJP are identical. He added that Gandhian freedom movement would be bereft of life if 'Vande Matram', 'Ram Rajya' and 'Goraksha' (cow protection) are not taken up. In his words, "I have called this cultural nationalism not only the substructure of India's unity, but also a dynamo for the country's progress and transformation into a modern progressive and prosperous nation—I cited compromise on the question of 'Vande Matram' by the Muslim League was on the ground that this is idolatry and anti-Islamic. But the leaders of the freedom movement refused to compromise. Even the Constituent Assembly refused to compromise and 'Jana gana mana' was declared the national anthem by them. Rajendra Babu announced that 'Vande Matram' would have equal status with the national song.[8]

Dr. Radhakrishnan's rationale dispels the charge of revivalism thus—that most people do not realise the wealth of our heritage. "Allegiance to the heritage does not mean that we are bound to our past", he continues, "On the contrary, it signifies our freedom from the past. Tradition is not something which cripples life, nor does it signify an attempt to cling to something which is dead and gone. It is not a harking to the past but the continuing of a vital spirit which pervades a people".[9]

James Campbell explains the religion factor under the title "Religion the Path Natural to the National Mind" in his work, thus: "All great awakening in India, all her periods of mightiest and mist varied vigour have drawn vitality from the fountain heads of some deep religious awakening. Whether the religious awakening has been complete and grand, the national energy it has created has been gigantic and puissant, whenever the religious movement has been narrow or incomplete, the national movement has been broken, imperfect or temporary".[10] This vindicates the methodology and commitment of the nationalists in reference to religion.

Indeed, religion and politics cannot be separated without risking the life of the political system. Religion—comprises the totality of life, establishes ethics, guides morality; and politics is there to solve the problems of men in the society. So, talking of their insulation as demanded by the critics of Hindu nationalism is utterly sinister. Hindu nationalist stand is justly explained by Ram Jethmalani, thus:.... How can there be a religion which has no rigid dogmas demanding belief on pain of eternal damnation, on the logical postulates, even no fixed theology, no credo distinguishing it from antagonistic or rival religious systems. How can it be called a religion when it admits all beliefs and discourages no spiritual experience or adventure.....?[11]

Edward Krehbeil rightly observes that "each state is supposed to stand for something 'suo generis' to have a personality and qualities peculiar to it and not attainable by other people, and its ideals for 'kultur' are supposed to be incompatible with others and not to lead to conflict".[12] Delivering lecture in Oxford University in 1926, Dr. Radhakrishnan explained the Hindu theory that every nation has an individuality and the Hindu solution could resolve the conflict.[13] Hans Kohn also believed that nationalism appearing to India, beside other countries, as something infinitely deeper than the nationalism of the West, and therefore, richer in problems and potentialities.[14]

Post-independence organisations such as Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Vishva Hindu Parishad, Bharatiya Janata Party and others are mere off shoots of RSS directly or indirectly. These organisations put emphasis on certain faith and display collective representation.[15] However, the area of RSS is not strictly religious, but national. As Deendayal explains, "The only cause of our backwardness is our lack of solidarity. Hence 'sangathan' (Consolidation) is the only objective that it (RSS) wants to adhere".[16] Deoras clarifies on RSS work of organisation that it implies bringing and keeping the people together and making them realise the purpose for their remaining together.[17] It is in keeping with the spirit called upon by national poet Maithili Sharan Gupta, who composed:

"Apni Samskriti ka abhiman
Karo sada Hindu santan";

Which is a clarion call to the Hindus to be proud of his culture—running in the stream of Vivekananda and others.

It is a matter of irony that the nationalists of the latter phase continue to carry the intellectual burden of the former but receive all kinds of missiles from across the line. Both the phases constitute a singular chain in carrying the soulforce of India sailing through all kinds of angry waves within and without. However, the second phase has to face more counter-offensive in virile form. The first phase suffered serious set-back in early twenties resulting out of chance and wisdom. It was duly carried forward by the second branch, rather with more organisation thrust. But in the way mud-slinging is adopted it seems as if the former stands in trial of history.

The process of Hindu consolidation and Muslim communalism marched together. When the uphill task of Hindu consolidation was adolescent, partition of India was materialised; but the venomenous cobra of communalism remained potent. Post-independence Nehruvian secularism appeared in most distorted form. It culminated in garnering appeasement as much as possible and malign the Hindu nationalists on the other. It offered the opportunity to insinuate that Hindu in the RSS/BJP sense represented bigotry and traditionalism of a sort irreconcilable with progressive modernism.[18]

The very attitude of the so-called secularists may be unfolded over a single instance. In their bid to slander RSS they may shy away with nationalist cause. That there was an Islamic Sevak Sangh which attacked an RSS branch in Thiruvananthapuram in July 1992. The point was raised in Rajya Sabha. Some members replied that the ISS was nothing but a reaction against the RSS. The then Minister of State for Home, M.M. Jacob, stated in Parliament that some Muslim organisations were reported to have been funded by the foreign agents, and the Government was having a close watch over it. He meant the Islamic Sevak Sangh founded by Abdul Mahajani in 1990 which received financial and moral aid from Pakistan and South Arabia.[19] On the face of this disclosure, how far it is justified to equate it with RSS? The latter is, after all, is a nationalist organisation and the former earns the credential of extra-territorial loyalty.[20] The same kind of argument was put forward in case of Bombay blast and RSS office violence in Madras following Ayodhya episode on 6 December 1992.

In reference to the definition of nation, concept of Hinduness, and the idea of Hindu nationalism, the rationale of national substratum of India is to be determined without predilection. The test of one's nationality is his commitment. Sister Nivedita identified herself with Indian ethos—embraced this land as holy. Hence she emerged as a perfect Indian. Hindu Code defines Hindu as one who is not a Muslim, Christian, Jew or Parsee. But the question that springs is how to bring them all on the same national plan. Balraj Madhok devotes a chapter on the same in his work 'Indianisation'. But the RSS harps on the point that before undertaking this task, it is imperative to consolidate the Hindus. However, in no way it excludes the presence of the non-Hindus in this land. It simply asks to commit themselves for the cause of the motherland, to emulate the ancestors, and adapt with the value-system of this land flowing since ages: and this value-system seeks to incorporate all values mankind has bequeathed—old and modern—traditional and critical modernism.[21] Precisely, as one author observes, the basis for Hindu nationalism, as opposed to the politics of minoritism, is history and culture rooted in religion.[22]

Hindu nationalism has no specific blue-print,[23] no agenda of its kind, nor does it spearhead any novel doctrine or creed. It simply spells the boundless expression of India's soulforce as a nation. One of the primary reason of misgiving is perhaps failure to transform the basis of Hindu nationalism in term of socio-economic and tangible advancement. It is not the lapse of the concept itself, but failure of the protagonists of Hindu nationalism on one side and the blind crusade launched by the other schools for their own reason.

Lest, the concept of Hindu nationalism needs perusal study and re-appraisal both on academic plane and empirical politics. In fact, it is beyond the straight line of politics—even beyond mere religion or so. It is a matter of feeling, understanding and realisation of identity, of self. The flaws in operational dimension is corrigible provided the contemporary advocates do away with their rigidity. A nation's totality cannot be monopolised by any particular organisation or party without risking dogmatism. On the other hand, the academicians must not be prisoners of selected informations, datas and analysis provided by denationalised copy-book maxims. Hence this work tends to roll the ball in wider spectrum for polemic with cherished aspiration of ushering in a new horizon—of course, with the potentiality of the entire wavelength of history, and the ethos it has unleashed.

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